

A Night on the Town with Earl Wilson

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You May Never See.**



DECEMBER 1974

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LETTERS

(Less)

In regard to your November cover story "The New York Times Transcripts," I for one would like to register several complaints about both the amount of news space that your journal continually devotes to the *Times*, as well as the increasingly sophomoric slant and overtones that such articles have taken. I seriously doubt whether any but the most gossip-minded of your readers care one whit whether or not [managing editor] A.M. Rosenthal is "mean to his wife," or indeed about the results of a study that purportedly documents how "*Timesmen*"—apparently there are no women of any consequence connected with your journal's nemesis—"behave—and misbehave." David Rubin notes (on page 23) the *Times* usual "hostility to the suggestions of outsiders—be they press councils, journalism reviews, academicians, politicians, or laymen," but fails to give any hint as to his own obvious bias and hostility as an "outsider" looking in on the *Times*. (Parenthetically, I wonder what Rubin's reaction would be if he discovered any evidence that the *Times* was receptive to the "suggestions" of politicians.)

Could it be that sheer envy and power-lust are the underlying, perhaps unconscious motives behind these continuous nips at the news-titan's heels? If so, then [MORE] is not the publication that I thought it to be, and I should like to cancel my subscription forthwith. If not, then please, and I ask this as a devoted admirer of the implied purpose of your journal, let's see [MORE] substantial, thought- and action-provoking articles like Kopkind's and Blake Fleetwood's in the November issue, and Michael Novak's fantastic piece on October's cover, and [LESS] scurrilous inquiries into Rosenthal's marital difficulties.

—Rory O'Connor
Cambridge, Mass.

'Walsh Cheated'

In the controversy surrounding the firing of reporter Denny Walsh by [managing editor] A.M. Rosenthal of *The New York Times* ["The Firing of Denny Walsh"—September 1974], one aspect seems to be glossed over: Walsh cheated. Instead of slipping a copy of his spiked story on Mayor Joseph Alioto to *Rolling Stone*, why didn't he first ask Rosenthal's permission? If denied, he could have resigned in protest—and honorably so.

Any reporter who doesn't play across-the-board with his bosses has no defense if they fire him. He would certainly be annoyed if they had pulled a comparable, surreptitious action relating to him.

—Roy Ferguson
Madrid, Spain

Monolithic Villain?

Michael Novak's essay on public antipathy toward the media ["Why the Working Man Hates the Media"—October 1974] dealt exclusively with what he described as the national media. But what about the local media, the hometown print and broadcast reporters who outnumber their national counterparts by hundreds-to-one? Don't they

share responsibility for the growing public hostility? And if they are not also to blame, aren't they experiencing anyway the same sort of hostility from an indiscriminating public? Increasingly in my wanderings as a local newspaper reporter people confront me by saying, "I'm not criticizing you, but the media is (the villain is monolithic, not a plural 'are') wrong."

I fear that while Novak precisely isolated the cause of the problem, he did not identify its epidemic quality. If this is indeed the case, then the corrective steps Novak suggests will not be enough. Reorientation of the national news media would have to be accompanied by a similar shift in perspective locally. I wonder if this is possible.

—John H. Fairhall
Latham, N.Y.

Black Sportswriters

I have several comments on Martin Ralbovsky's "Furthermore" on black sportswriters in the November 1974 issue.

1. Ralbovsky wrote at length about Doug Smith, a black sportswriter at *Newsday*. During the two months that Ralbovsky was on the staff, he never asked Smith for his views as a black sportswriter at *Newsday*. He wrote about Smith, had many opportunities to discuss the issue with Smith, but in his article Ralbovsky had to say: "Smith managed to please no one at all, least of all, I sensed, himself... he was writing solely, I felt, to satisfy whites." Why didn't Ralbovsky ask Smith how he felt?

2. Ralbovsky said there was no "blackness" to Smith's work. If he had asked Smith, who agrees with the general thrust of the article, Smith would have told him, as he had told me, that he isn't trying to please everyone and that on most assignments it isn't necessary for the reader to know the writer is black or white. If he had asked Smith, Smith would have pointed out numerous pieces written for *Newsday* that express the black point of view: his profile of Arthur Ashe and similar pieces on the Nets players, as well as a series of articles written on a trip to North Carolina A & T. Ralbovsky, in short, did no research. He sat 15 feet from the sports clip files and never went to them to check Smith's work. Ralbovsky is a resident of Closter, N.J. He didn't read *Newsday* before he worked at the paper, and he doesn't read it now.

In fact, his shoddy reporting and research already have led him to write a letter of apology to *Newsday* on Oct. 17, 1974, for (in his own words) a "serious error" that appears in his new book. In the book, Ralbovsky wrote that *Newsday* had failed to comment on the death of a Long Island high school football player. An editorial on the subject appeared in *Newsday* the day after the youth's death was reported. Ralbovsky said in his letter of apology, "I missed it [the editorial]. I was looking at the sports pages. My mistake." I mention this, not to embarrass Ralbovsky, but to make my own point that he is a man who appears to have no regard for facts and no desire to check them.

3. Ralbovsky cites Smith's column on (continued on page 22)

HELLBOX

Continuing Sagas

More than two months after fire struck the offices of *The Mountain Eagle*, Whitesburg, Kentucky's crusading weekly newspaper ["Fire on the Mountain"—October 1974], four men were arrested in connection with the crime. One of the men, charged with aiding arson, is former Whitesburg patrolman Johnny Dwight Caudle, who had earlier threatened the life of Tom Gish, the *Eagle's* owner and editor. Caudle had handed in his resignation several days before the fire because of what he felt were attacks made on him by *Eagle* articles dealing with police mistreatment of area youths. But Caudle was still on duty the night of the fire. Not only did he send in the alarm, but, being a volunteer fireman, helped fight the blaze. Gish says Caudle caused most of the serious water damage in the office and plans to sue him. A preliminary hearing is set for mid-December.

—PATRICIA MULLAN

What's Up, Doc?

Early this fall, *Pittsburgh Press* reporter Jack Grochot was tipped that a baby who reportedly survived an abortion may have been allowed to die by a doctor at a local hospital. Within two weeks, Grochot had pinned down the details, including the information that the district attorney's office was investigating the case. Then he witnessed what he calls "the abortion of my abortion story."

Press managing editor Ralph Brem enthusiastically approved the story, had it set in type on Sept. 28, then showed it to executive editor John Troan, who ordered several deletions. Among the changes was omission of the doctor's name because, according to Brem, Troan could not be sure of the doctor's specific role in the abortion. Grochot maintains the story was also stripped of information concerning the doctor's background of performing abortions in Bangladesh, and the violation of the hospital's abortion policy during the operation in question. Grochot, well-known locally for his reporting, was not in the office at the time. Troan rewrote the story, and the revised article appeared Sunday, Sept. 29, on the top of page one.

As for the doctor's role, Grochot had spoken with eight nurses connected with the abortion, a medical photographer who filmed the operation—which employed an experimental technique for educational purposes—the hospital's executive director and its medical director—all of whom agreed that the particular doctor, Leonard

Laufe, was the central figure. Laufe's signature also appeared on the death certificate. Still, the *Press* continued to omit the doctor's name in its reporting on the case. Even when the Associated Press first reported on Oct. 1 that Laufe had signed the death certificate, his name did not appear in the *Press* until three days later. (On Nov. 7, a coroner's inquest cleared Laufe of any possible criminality in the case.)

Troan has a long association with medicine in Pittsburgh, having served as the *Press's* medical writer and later national medical writer for Scripps-Howard. Reached at a Scripps-Howard conference in Albuquerque, he had little to say about his handling of the story other than, "We have reasons for doing what we do." Troan declined to discuss those reasons.

—SCOTT MacLEOD

Buy-line

The Boston busing situation was the subject of columns in the Sept. 11 editions of both the *Oak Ridge* (Tenn.) *Oak Ridger* and the *Marietta* (Ga.) *Journal*. The columns were identical; the bylines were not. In the *Oak Ridger*, the column was properly credited to Richard L. Worsnop, a writer for Editorial Research Reports, a Washington, D.C. outfit that sends editorial material to 294 subscribing newspapers. Worsnop estimates that 80 to 90 per cent of his columns appear with his byline; most of the

others are simply credited to Editorial Research Reports. In this case, however, Bill Kinney, a columnist and editorial writer for the *Marietta Journal*, put his name on the column. Says Kinney: "If you have to do a column and you can't get it, you have to get it from someone else."

—RICH TEICH

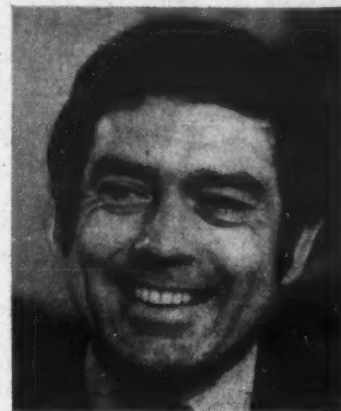
Million-Dollar Baby

When CBS News announced the transfer of Dan Rather from the White House news beat last August, both NBC and ABC were right there to discuss Rather's future with him. In deciding to stay and anchor "CBS Reports" and the weekend "CBS Evening News," Rather turned down an official offer of \$1 million from one of the networks. The figure was to cover a "fairly long period of time," says Rather. The other network, he says, made no firm offer but put forth "an inquiry," proposing a \$500,000 figure.

Rather declines to say which network made the firm, and larger offer, and which one the inquiry. But John Lynch, ABC's Washington bureau chief, says ABC made no direct offer to Rather. Spokesmen for NBC, including news president Richard Wald, refuse to comment.

At the time of his transfer, about a dozen small and medium-sized newspapers also asked whether Rather was in the job market. Charles Elliott Jr., news editor of the *Delaware State News* (circ. 24,000), wrote saying he was "always looking for talented reporters." "Thank you very, very much," Rather replied in longhand. "I once did newspapering for a living and know the unique joys of it. But I don't spell well enough, for one thing, to be good at it."

—BEEKMAN WINTHROP



Rather in demand

CBS

House News

By the time Philip Warden reaches his suite in the old Executive Office Building, President Ford has already read *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*. The President has also read the daily White House news digest, which Warden prepares and calls "the most exclusive newspaper in the world."

During the Nixon years, the White House news digest came under attack for being sloppy, biased and often inaccurate in its reporting of the reporting. The digest even editorialized about the various articles or TV news reports it summarized. "NBC did us no favors" was one of the comments in the April 23, 1971 edition. Under Warden's predecessor, Lyndon K. (Mort) Allin, the digest was single-spaced, filled with incomprehensible abbreviations and disorganized. It contained few quotes and even fewer excerpts from the articles it summarized. Warden, a *Chicago Tribune* reporter for almost 35 years before joining the Ford Administration in September, did not like what he saw.

Warden cut out the abbreviations, brightened up the layout, added political cartoons (Auth of *The Philadelphia Inquirer* is a favorite) and reorganized the digest. Warden began including more excerpts, fewer summaries and many more editorials than in former days.

About one-third of the 35- to 40-

You Are What You Read



Marty Norman

The folks at Bantam Books have come up with a neat idea for marketing two boxed sets of children's books: they're calling them *Stories for Boys* (subtitled "sports and adventure") and *Stories for Girls* (or, "love and life"). A flurry of complaints from women's groups and other publishing houses, however, has evidently embarrassed Bantam management. Editorial director Marc Jaffe says that if the same books are reprinted and packaged next year, "we would restructure the format." Until then, the boys collection includes such titles as *Shane*, *The Big Sky* and *The Martian Chronicle*, while among the books for girls-only are *Cheaper by the Dozen*, *Member of the Wedding* and that old favorite of young women everywhere, *My Darling, My Hamburger*.

—PHYLLIS SHEERR

[HELLBOX]

page digest is devoted to what the networks report on the morning and evening news programs. In addition, the staff tapes and reproduces for the President the complete texts of each of the network commentators. A full page of the digest is devoted to a precise count of the time each network gives each story.



Digester Philip Warden —Wide World

Warden also added about 25 new newspapers to the old list. The additions, mostly from the South and West, include the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, Memphis *Commercial Appeal*, the Rocky Mountain News and the Salt Lake Tribune. The White House now subscribes to about 25 magazines, one foreign newspaper (the London *Sunday Times*) and about 75 American newspapers—from the *Manchester Union Leader* to *Women's Wear Daily*.

Warden says he makes no attempt to shield the President from unpleasant stories, editorials or cartoons. Of 29 editorials in the Oct. 31 digest, for example, six are complimentary, 15 informational, and at least eight would have to be considered critical. These include a *Newsday* editorial chiding Ford's "hackneyed sloganeering" on the election stump, and James Deakin's column in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* that said Ford's campaigning was "marred by a series of oral fluffs." So it appears that the current President is getting a fair and full account of what the press is reporting—warts and all, as they used to say in the previous Administration.

—CHARLES A. KRAUSE

Stock Response

In an attempt to cement employee relations and benefit the hired hands, the management of *U.S. News and World Report* periodically

issues "bonus stock" to about 200 of its staffers. It is, however, somewhat unclear as to precisely who benefits. *U.S. News*, a nonpublicly owned corporation, issues the "bonus stock" in the form of voting-trust certificates. But a number of employees complain that the certificates never come into the physical possession of the recipients, pay no dividends, cannot be used as collateral on loans and do not entitle recipients to vote on company policies. Says one staffer: "There are no annual reports, no stockholders meetings, no opportunity for us to take part in any way in the management of the company. We've never even seen these certificates. All we have is the management's word that they actually exist."

Nonetheless, recipients of the invisible certificates regularly receive tangible evidence that the "stock" exists. The company lumps the "stock" together with salary income on W-2 forms, and withholds additional Federal and state taxes from employees' pay checks—based on the supposed "fair market value" of the certificates. As for why the company refuses to open its books to employees, executive vice president Ben Grant says, "We are not required by the SEC to make public reports, so we don't. We do make information available to employees, but our policy is not to do it in writing." Grant does not, however, dispute employees' accounts of the "stock" situation.

A dozen *U.S. News* workers, complaining that they should not be paying taxes on "stock" that they had never seen and from which they had received no benefits, applied two years ago for Federal tax refunds. The IRS ruled in their favor. *U.S. News* then requested a definitive ruling on tax treatment of the stock, and the IRS decision is still pending.

—MICHAEL DORMAN

Corrections

In our November issue, a Hellbox item about J. Walter Thompson's contract with the Chilean government reported that Thompson's Jack Raymond "refused to discuss the short-lived arrangement." Raymond did, in fact, discuss the matter by phone with reporter Beekman Winthrop but would not speak on the record.... In the same issue, two typographical errors occurred in J. Anthony Lukas's description of the junket for Cornelius Ryan's new book. James Gavin commanded the 82nd Airborne Division, not the 72nd. And Charles Lynch is employed by the Southam, not Southern, News Service in Canada.

Bells Are Ringing

ROSEBUDS to *The Concord (N.H.) Monitor* (circ: 16,500) and its statehouse reporter, Rod Paul, for spotlighting the unhealthy relationship between Republican Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr. and his principal supporter, William Loeb. Loeb is the ultraconservative publisher of the state's largest and most influential newspaper, the *Manchester Union Leader* (circ: 65,500). Paul learned that the state kept phone records of all the calls made by the Governor's office, and found that those records showed an extraordinary number of calls placed to Loeb's homes in Prides Crossing, Mass., and Reno, Nev.

The telephone records are kept by the state controller, who, it turned out, wasn't eager to have Paul poke through his files. Paul appealed to the attorney general, who ruled that the records were public and that the *Monitor* could examine them.

Paul's story was published on Oct. 12. The article said that the records showed 138 calls were made from the Governor's office to Loeb's homes in Massachusetts and Nevada between January 1973 and June 1974. Paul did not count the calls made from the Governor's office to the *Union Leader* newsroom in Manchester. In his story, Paul related the phone calls to decisions made by the Governor. The relationship is significant. A sampling:

- On Jan. 30, 1973, the Governor's office called Loeb's home after the



Telephone man Rod Paul

Hank Nichols

Monitor reported that Thomson had ordered an aide to examine the private profits-tax returns of several corporations doing business in the state. Officers of most of those corporations had been on Thomson's "enemies list."

• On April 10, the Governor's office called Loeb's home; that same day, Thomson threatened to revoke Franconia College's charter, apparently because a meeting had been held at the college to consider the rights of prisoners.

• On Oct. 23, the Governor's office called Loeb's home on the eve of United Nations Day, never a red-letter occasion for the *Union Leader*. The next day, Thomson barred the flying of the U.N. flag over any state building.

• On Feb. 19, 1974, two phone calls were made to Loeb's home, and that same day Thomson urged a special session of the legislature to support the proposed Olympic (Onassis) oil refinery at Durham.

Ultimately, the Democrats conducted their own search and disclosed their findings as part of Democrat Richard Leonard's campaign to defeat Thomson. In addition to the calls made to Loeb's homes, the Democrats reported 116 phone calls made to the *Union Leader*. Several situations that Paul had not reported were discovered, including calls to Loeb that seemed to instigate what became known as the "lobster war" with Maine and calls to Loeb when members of a radical labor group came to the statehouse and talked to reporters in the second-floor pressroom, which provoked Thomson to stride into the room with bodyguards and order the labor representatives thrown out of the building.

Paul, 35, came to New Hampshire eight years ago, after a stint with the wire services and the New Orleans *Times-Picayune*. "I wanted a statehouse job," he says, "and this is where I landed. I like it." Says Paul's boss, *Monitor* editor Tom Gerber: "What we did with those phone calls was tremendously revealing. It's the kind of thing newspapers ought to be doing. We try to have something like it going all the time, and Roddy's pretty good at it."

But on Nov. 5, New Hampshire voters picked Thomson again—and, presumably, Loeb, too.



"My eight year old daughter was killed and my three year old son. Nixon murderer of civilians. What have I done to Nixon so that he comes here and bombs my country. My daughter died right here. She was feeding the pigs.

She was so sweet. She is dead. The pigs are alive. My mother and my children took shelter here. Here they died. The planes came from over there—no targets here, only rice fields and houses. I'll give you my daughter's beautiful shirt. Take it back to the United States. Tell them what happened here. My daughter is dead. She will never wear the shirt again. It hurts so much. Throw this shirt in Nixon's face. Tell him she was only a little school-girl."

—Vu Duc Vinh

"Well, the Oriental... doesn't put the same high price on life as does the westerner. Life is plentiful, life is cheap in the Orient. And as the philosophy of the Orient expresses it, life is not important..."

—William Westmoreland



The Battle Over 'Hearts and Minds'

BY JEAN STROUSE

First, let me declare my bias. I think "Hearts and Minds" is an extraordinary film—a sober, compelling, deeply intelligent documentary about America's involvement in Vietnam and its effect on the American and Vietnamese people. The closest film analogy is "The Sorrow and the Pity." But the Vietnam experience is too recent and too raw for Americans to look at the way we looked at the French and the Nazis in Ophüls's film—moved, fascinated but detached. "Hearts and Minds" does on film what the Pentagon Papers

did in the press: expose the systematic deception that was passed off on the American public for years as official government policy. And it will arouse all the dormant emotions

Jean Strouse is an editor at Pantheon Books and a freelance writer. Her most recent book is Women & Analysis: Dialogues on Psychoanalytic Views of Femininity, published this year by Viking.

A highly acclaimed, riveting documentary film about the war in Vietnam has yet to be released by Columbia Pictures. As its producers have discovered, the politics of Hollywood is the politics of money.

and disputes that roiled during the war years.

"Hearts and Minds" is strong stuff. Frame after frame fixes the horrors, the official lies, the bitter ironies. "So we must be ready to fight in Vietnam," said Lyndon Johnson in 1965, "but the ultimate victory will depend on the hearts and minds of the people who actually live out there." There are scenes of a Fourth of July parade in Croton, N.Y.; Vietnamese children with burnt flesh hanging from their bodies; football worship in Ohio; bombers strafing rice fields; American parents convincing themselves that the sacrifice of their son was worthwhile; G.I.'s in a Saigon massage parlor. There are interviews with limbless veterans, cold war ideologues, an old Vietnamese man who makes 900 children's coffins a week. And there are flashes from World War II films like "Objective, Burma": "Stinking little savages. Wipe 'em out I say, wipe 'em out. Wipe 'em off the face of the earth."

Some will argue the film is a polemic, deftly edited to



reach foregone conclusions. Others will applaud its vivid documentation of the Vietnam nightmare. Whatever you think, it's impossible to walk away unaffected—if you get the chance. For "Hearts and Minds" is a film in trouble, and Americans may never get to see it at all.

Work on "Hearts and Minds" began two years ago under producer-director Peter Davis, the filmmaker-journalist whose award-winning CBS-TV special, "The Selling of the Pentagon," caused considerable controversy in the media, the Pentagon and living rooms throughout the United States. The executive producer for "Hearts and Minds" is Bert Schneider, whose BBS Productions made "Easy Rider," "Five Easy Pieces" and "The Last Picture Show." After the huge financial success of "Easy Rider," Columbia Pictures contracted with BBS for six films, which BBS would produce for Columbia to distribute. The first four were "Five Easy Pieces," "Drive, He Said," "A Safe Place" and "The Last Picture Show." "Hearts and Minds" was the fifth.

Officials at Columbia had expressed concern when they learned in 1972 that Schneider's next film was to be "Hearts and Minds"—in part because of the subject and in part because documentaries seldom make money. But an earlier flap at Columbia over whether to distribute "Easy Rider" had been nicely resolved to a gross of \$25 million (according to Schneider), so in 1972 Columbia executives may have been willing to take another chance. In the summer of 1973, however, Columbia's top management changed hands. When Schneider met with Columbia executives to discuss "Hearts and Minds" toward the end of that year, the new president of the movie division was David Begelman, formerly an agent with Creative Management Associates in Los Angeles. At this meeting, says Schneider, Begelman and others expressed fears the film might be too controversial: Columbia was then and still is in deep financial trouble (about which more later), and Begelman said the company couldn't afford to get involved in a picture that was going to cause problems.

The editing of "Hearts and Minds" was completed last May, just in time for the 1974 film festival at Cannes. About a month before the

festival, Columbia sent its publicity people to see the film, get production stills, interview Davis and gear up for a full-fledged campaign to promote the picture. They even hired an outside public relations firm to help. Then there was a screening of the film in Los Angeles for several people from Columbia, including its lawyers. Suddenly all the publicity action stopped.

Begelman asked Schneider to screen the film for Columbia's board of directors, saying (according to Schneider) that he didn't want Columbia involved in running it at Cannes unless the board approved and that Columbia was worried about possible repercussions in the "banking community." Schneider refused to hold the special screening, saying he didn't want to get involved in Columbia's financial affairs. He said he would deliver the film when it was finished and Columbia could screen it for the board at that time. (Although the film was in effect finished in May, some technical details, including English voice-over for the Vietnamese sections remained undone, and it wasn't officially delivered to Columbia until Aug. 5.)

Ten days before Cannes, Columbia withdrew its support for "Hearts and Minds," asking BBS to take the Columbia logo off the film and refusing to help with the ads and publicity that create Events at the festival. Davis and Schneider did not remove the Columbia logo, and the film was screened several times, to resounding praise. *Variety* (May 15) headlined its review, "A lucid, penetrating, moving look at the Vietnam war, which should find interest at home and foreign wickets." Later in the month, *Variety* announced in its inimitable prose:

**'HEARTS AND MINDS'
A FAVE AT CANNES
BUT IS IT A COLUMBIA PIC?**

One of the top reactions at the recent Cannes Film Fest went to the Yank docu "Hearts and Minds" of Peter Davis, which unspooled in Critics Week. It received many invites to other fests and rated several always jammed repeat showings. But the many international distribs wanting it found that it was not clear whether [Columbia was handling it or not]....

And syndicated columnist Rex Reed wrote, in a piece killed by New York's *Daily News* (page 8), that it was "... the best film [at Cannes]... a brutal, mind-blowing experience that shattered

every American who saw it."

Since Cannes, the film has won the Golden Dove award at the Atlanta film festival, was screened in September at New York's Carnegie Hall Cinema and was extremely well-received at the San Francisco film festival in mid-October. Judy Stone, in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (Oct. 17), called it "searing, brilliant... an incredible achievement: a kaleidoscopic but searching glimpse into the origins of the war, what it did to the hearts, minds and bodies of the Vietnamese and what it did to our own." And she noted that Columbia Pictures, "which has been congratulating itself for plunging bravely into the thickets of controversy over its television product, 'The Sex Symbol,' has not yet decided to release this one."

Although Columbia had withdrawn its support for the Cannes screenings, it was not, according to Begelman at the time, dropping the film. Distribution would, of course, proceed in the U.S. A Columbia executive told Peter Davis at Cannes, "If I had made a film like that, I'd feel my life had been worthwhile." Peter Guber, Columbia's executive vice president in charge of world wide production, said to Davis: "I want you to know that I'm on your side; and I'm going to do everything I can for you," and took him out to dinner.

That there was another "side" was becoming increasingly apparent.

Post-Cannes, Columbia began raising legal objections. "We are currently reviewing it," says Burton Marcus, general counsel for Columbia Pictures Industries. "We want to release the film as soon as we can, but there are certain legal questions that have to be cleared up before we can go ahead." Columbia's board chairman, Leo Jaffe, echoed Marcus. But when asked what the legal complications were, he said he could not disclose the details. (And asked why Columbia had withdrawn its support for the film before Cannes, Jaffe replied, "I can't talk about that. We've been advised not to discuss it.")

I spoke with Columbia president Begelman by telephone on Oct. 30. He did not have much to add. "This film has gotten a great response," he

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belongs in burlesque...**



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The first complete inside story

THE PULITZER PRIZES

A History of the Awards in Books, Drama, Music, and Journalism Based on the Private Files Over Six Decades



JOHN HOHENBERG

More than 100 Pulitzer Prize winners have contributed reminiscences to John Hohenberg's new book, *The Pulitzer Prizes*, the first complete history of the awards ever to be published. All the consequences, both gratifying and embarrassing, have been included. And that means the disclosure of numerous jury reversals that have not been general knowledge; the disclosure that LBJ, while President, boycotted the Pulitzer Prize dinner; that Arthur Miller said he didn't need his prize....

"Remarkable for its thoroughness, objectivity and grace of style.... A fascinating and vital view of the prizes themselves and the way they reveal our 20th-century cultural history."

—*Publishers Weekly*

"Abounds with historical sidelights.... No one at Columbia told him to pull his punches... and he did not."

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said. "As soon as certain legal requirements are straightened out we are anxious and eager to release it. That is all I will say."

According to Columbia, most of the legal problems have to do with releases: "The manner in which the producer discharged his responsibilities leaves many questions unanswered," claims Marcus. "The releases they have obtained are either suspect, or they don't have them at all." Both Davis and Schneider emphatically deny that a release problem exists and maintain that the legal argument is nothing more than a smokescreen. Moreover, they have a 30-page legal opinion, written by the New York law firm of Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, saying that BBS has all the necessary releases and that no one has any legal claim to make against the film.

Schneider charges that "Columbia has cited or questioned everything in the movie." As an example, he points to a scene in which returned POW Lt. George Coker addresses a group of Catholic schoolchildren in New Jersey. After a brief talk about war and being a prisoner, he offers to answer questions. One little girl asks, "What did Vietnam look like?" Coker's answer: "Well, if it wasn't for the people, it was very pretty. The people over there are very backward and very primitive, and they just make a mess out of everything."

"We have releases from Coker, and from the schoolteacher," says Schneider. "And Columbia says: 'How do we know the parents of one of those kids won't take legal action?' Every time we answer one objection they come up with ten more. I think it's clear they don't want to distribute this film."

The obtaining of signed releases in documentary filmmaking is not strictly necessary as long as an individual consents to be filmed. But

what constitutes consent is a question that has come up many times in many courts, and in order to prevent later disputes producers often do get signed releases. One such dispute was recently resolved in a Federal District Court in Newark, which found that a Port-O-San maintenance man shown cleaning out portable latrines in the "Woodstock" film could not collect damages for invasion of privacy because he had appeared in the film voluntarily. Since he knew he was being filmed and agreed to appear before the camera, he could not later claim that his privacy was invaded.

A similar question may soon be raised in connection with "Hearts and Minds," for Walt Whitman Rostow, an architect of U.S. policy in Vietnam, may initiate legal action against the producers on the grounds that he did not consent to the use of his statements in the film.

According to Davis, when he first contacted Rostow about interviewing him for "Hearts and Minds," Rostow asked for the right to review and approve whatever parts of the interview were to be used in the film. Davis refused. Eventually, however, he agreed to send Rostow a copy of the sections of his interview that would appear, before the film was released. On that basis the interview was conducted at Rostow's home in Austin, Texas.

When the film was finished, Davis sent Rostow transcripts of his remarks as they appeared at three points in the film, along with the sections of the film immediately preceding and following them. As Davis understood it, he was not submitting the segments for Rostow's approval but simply showing him how they would look. Rostow did not approve of the first two selections: he objected to the placement of his remarks and the fact that so little of what he had said was used. He did approve the third.

(continued on page 19)

What's Not In The Daily News?

After returning from the Cannes Film Festival last May, *Daily News* film follower Rex Reed wrote an effusive paean to "Hearts and Minds." "[It] is a film," he said, "about why the United States went to Viet Nam, what we did there and what doing it did to us.... Rarely has so much truth and so much power been captured in the art of film." But when he looked for his piece in the *News* one Sunday last June, it wasn't there. And it wasn't there the next Sunday, or the next. Most of the papers that carry Reed elsewhere in the country found the piece perfectly fit to print. But it didn't run anywhere in New York until the *SoHo Weekly News* picked it up for its cover story July 4.

Furious at the silent ax treatment by his home paper, Reed threatened to quit and ended up in a meeting with *News* executive editor Mike O'Neill and special features editor Sheward Hagerty. Reed says the conversation went roughly like this:

Eds: You're a movie critic, not a political writer.

RR: But it's a political movie. I have to talk about what's in the movies I review.

Eds: It's not a rational piece. It's too hysterical and not well balanced.

RR: I've written lots of pieces for you, of varying quality, and you've printed plenty of lousy pieces by me before. If this were a lousy piece on any other subject you'd print it wouldn't you?

Eds: Yes.

RR: Did somebody upstairs read you the riot act?

Are you afraid of what readers will think?

Eds: No, have you ever been to Vietnam?

RR: No, and I've never killed anybody either, but I reviewed "In Cold Blood."

Eds: How do you know this is accurate? How do you know Westmoreland said what you quote him as saying? How do you know they didn't stage all this? You know how editing can influence what comes across on the screen. Did you witness the making of this movie?

RR: Look, these are my opinions, with my name on them. You can run a disclaimer if you want to—a box saying these are not the opinions of the management of the *Daily News*.

Eds: It's not for the entertainment page.

RR: Run it on the political page.

Eds: It's too hysterical.

RR: I've earned the right to be hysterical.

Speaking for himself recently, Hagerty said Reed had "used the movie as a launching pad for his own opinions." He said the piece offended him and would have offended the *News's* readers. O'Neill concurs. "He literally got on a soapbox and began to preach. Homilies are for pulpits and the political stump."

After meeting with Reed last summer, O'Neill and Hagerty promised never again to kill one of his pieces without consulting him, never to edit his copy without consulting him, and they assigned him a new editor. Reports that, in turn, he must memorize all *Daily News* editorials have yet to be confirmed.

—J.S.



Jan Faust

We've Got A Secret

BY STEPHEN E. NORDLINGER

Rowland Evans Jr. and Robert Novak love to make their column snap, crackle and pop. So they conscientiously sprinkle it with such breathless phrases as "explosive package" (Oct. 26), "lust for revenge" (Oct. 30) or "noxious brew" (Nov. 7)—which is not such a bad way to describe the column itself. Drenched in dramatic prose, it comes out five days a week, appears in 253 newspapers and purports to provide an "Inside Report" on backstage life in Washington and around the world. The authors insist they blend hard news and commentary. More often than not, however, the column reads these days like a propaganda sheet, castigating "left-wing activists" like Ramsey Clark (Oct. 28) and promoting such favorites as "Mr. Taxation," Wilbur Mills (Oct. 23). By year's end, Evans and Novak were also carrying a new tag. After they depicted the Democrats on the House Judiciary Committee during the impeachment inquiry as "divided and demoralized" (June 20), some began calling the column "Errors and No Facts."

When the now-flourishing column began in May 1963, the two new partners differed markedly: Evans, the aristocratic newsman of Kent School and Yale, skilled tennis and squash player, a friend of the Kennedys; and Novak, scruffy, hard-working, out of the University of Illinois, who one day accidentally set fire with a discarded match to the mounds of papers forever around his desk at

Stephen E. Nordlinger is a member of the Washington bureau of the Baltimore Sun.

Evans and Novak call their column "Inside Report." But to some, it is little more than a powerful weapon they use to puff up their heroes and excoriate their villains—with dramatic and sometimes distorting prose.

The Wall Street Journal. Some say the fire actually began when the match ignited his untied shoelaces. Washington newsmen Jules Witcover and Walter Mears succinctly summed up the contrast between the two men when they embodied Evans and Novak in their unstaged musical of Watergate and politics as the narrators "Whiffenpoof and Six-pack."

Over the years, as the column prospered and the two men interacted, they moved closer and closer together in style and attitude. Evans grew more hard-bitten and cynical, and Novak, in turn, lost his slovenly habits and became more interested in his dress. It is a game in Washington to guess who writes which column, but that is less and less easy to detect (although Evans specializes in

foreign affairs and Novak in domestic politics).

The ideological slant of many of the columns, especially on politics, reflects the philosophy of Novak, who delivered a paper in April 1972 at a Kenyon College conference on "The New Journalism" in which he said that the newsman working for television and the big magazines and papers "had now become part of the liberal establishment, both in his manner of living and in his ideological commitment." In an interview I had with them both, Evans assumed responsibility for what he described as the column's "anti-Israel" viewpoint. This outlook, which reflects the columnists' belief in power politics, was traced by Evans to a judgment after "years of observation" that American concern in the Middle East lay in protecting the interests of the Arab states with their vast oil reserves.

Last June, Evans and Novak, once again casting Israel as the Middle East culprit, said that "if Israel continues devastating bombing and shelling in retaliation for *absolutely predictable* Palestinian bomber raids in the future, the Nixon peace plan might indeed be *sabotaged*." (Emphasis added.) Then in September, Evans and Novak based a column on an "incredible secret Israeli request for \$4 billion a year in U.S. arms." Later Secretary of State Kissinger told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that this figure was confused with Israel's total arms budget. "I am afraid to read the column these days," Kissinger told the committee, winding up his testimony.

The column is, to use Novak's term, a

"hybrid," and its crossbreeding is both the source of its influence and its vulnerability. In the beginning the so-called "hard-news nugget" formed the springboard from which Evans and Novak took off into rather straightforward, nonideological columns of facts mixed with commentary. This evenhandedness no longer holds true in a significant number of columns. The "facts" have become a veneer that appears to lend credibility to columns that reflect an increasingly ideological point of view that Evans and Novak call centrist but which seems distinctly conservative. At the same time, the column's style has taken on a sensational tone as Evans and Novak blow out of proportion the smallest fact and slightest sign of discord.

To describe the alleged intrigues and conspiracies of Washington and elsewhere, Evans and Novak scatter through their column such phrases as "a desperate compromise," "an intense undercover effort," "a potentially lethal relationship," "a last frail hope," "a shrouded attempt," "a corrosive issue." Playing the game of insidemannship, they use the adjective "secret" to spice such words as orders, actions, visits, studies, surveys, negotiations and talks. A plethora of anonymous quotes adds a further element of mystery. The columns on impeachment, for

example, contained such whispers as: "You don't impeach a President for lying about conducting an investigation," a Republican member of the House Judiciary Committee told us," and "To me this has absolutely nothing to do with the impeachment," one Republican told us," referring to the Nixon attack on *The Washington Post*. Day after day during the committee's investigation, Republican members spoke openly about what they regarded as the proper scope of the inquiry, but Evans and Novak chose the juicier anonymous route.

A study of the last three years and scattered earlier columns reveals a decided tendency by Evans and Novak to pick and choose the quotes and facts, and the subjects of the columns themselves, not to provide an "inside report" but in a significant number of instances apparently for other reasons. Many of the columns are markedly solicitous of the interests of some of the most powerful political figures or those with whom Evans and Novak agree and antagonistic toward those whose power is slipping, who are challenging the mighty or who are slightly left of center.

There is "hard-boiled," "centrist" Robert Strauss; "canny," "powerful" Wilbur Mills;

"dynamic," "highly visible" William Simon; "backroom Republican super-power" Melvin Laird; "shrewd" Clarke Reed, "the real power among the Southerners"; and Pierre Rinfret with his "record of excellence in [economic forecasting]." On the other hand, there is "Texas emigré" to New York Ramsey Clark, "now resident in Greenwich Village"; "aggressive" Roy Ash with his "lack of political sensitivity and contempt for Congress"; "limousine liberal" Daniel Walker, governor of Illinois; "super-liberal darling of the Democratic left" George McGovern; and "big spender" Birch Bayh.

The columns reflect a persistent pattern of trying to build up Wilbur Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, and to shield him from attack. In 1972, as portrayed by Evans and Novak, Mills, whose presidential campaign, in fact, never got off the ground, became "the only port in the political hurricane now besetting the Democratic party." When Mills sent congratulatory telegrams to winning Democrats in the House after the 1972 elections, Evans and Novak recorded the event and said he "might yet wind up running for speaker of the House." Later, when his power as chairman seemed threatened by proposed House reforms, Evans and Novak warned that the "do-gooding" reforms might mean "that coming battles over tax reform and foreign trade will become orgies of legislative excess."

This fall, when Mills faced his first Republican challenge in 36 years, Evans and Novak again rose to the occasion in a column which said that a visit to Mills in Arkansas by Treasury Secretary William Simon served as a "dramatic demonstration that the President has no interest whatsoever" in Mrs. Judy Petty's challenge. This column on the Mills race made no mention of the Senate Watergate Committee's charge that Mills received \$75,000 in illegal milk producer contributions for his presidential campaign. Near the end of October in another column on the Arkansas race that referred to Mills's "legislative mastery," Evans and Novak mentioned merely in passing a link between the 1972 Mills campaign and what they characterized only as "shady" milk lobby contributions.

Questioned about this concern over the welfare of Mills, Novak denied favoritism and said that he had written a column that focused on Mills's declining fortunes as committee chairman. A look at this column, which appeared almost ten months before Mills's recent escapade with the "Argentine Firecracker," confirmed that Evans and Novak had, indeed, written that Mills's authority "has dwindled close to mortal dimensions with scant chance for recovery." But it also warned that his committee "has become a markedly less efficient instrument as a result of reform."

William Simon also gets the same royal treatment. Last summer, after he became secretary of the treasury, Evans and Novak noted that he "began pushing for budget trimming to fight inflation," against the desires of his "bitter personal rival," budget director Roy Ash. When Simon seemed to be meeting resistance in reaching this goal, Evans and Novak said he was the "target of guerilla warfare" from the Ash forces.

After it became clear that Simon might be replaced as head of the government's top energy committee by Interior Secretary Rogers Morton, Evans and Novak tried to help. They wrote that the "experts" were bothered over whether Morton could handle the job. The same sort of problem also aroused the columnists' interest two weeks later when they noted that Simon, despite the public's impression, "is not in charge [of economic policy] or even close to it," and that L. William

Have Column, Will Travel

"Inside Report," which is distributed by the Publishers-Hall Syndicate, is only the beginning for Evans and Novak. Twice a month, the Evans and Novak Political Reporting Company publishes a newsletter of column leftovers sent out to some 1,100 subscribers at a cost of \$60 a year. Robert Gutwillig, senior vice president of *Playboy*, puts the newsletter together from 20 pages or so of dribs and drabs spun out by the columnists.

The newsletter's mailing list is used to draw subscribers to closed-door "seminars" in Washington twice a year at which top Administration and political figures speak. Once General Haig left the side of Richard Nixon in Key Biscayne and flew back to Washington to address one of these sessions. To hear notables give off-the-cuff, off-the-record insights, the businessmen and others who attend—about 65 to 70—pay \$200 each. Some of those who have appeared at the request of Evans and Novak have been accorded exceedingly favorable treatment in the column, although there are exceptions, most notably Haig, who fell from grace in the column as he fell from power.

Until recently, Evans and Novak also lent their services to help distribute an economic newsletter written by Charles E. Walker Jr., former undersecretary of the treasury and now an economic consultant in Washington. It was sent out by the Charles E. Walker Economic Report Company and used the Evans and Novak address. Before the first newsletter in March 1973, they wrote a column (Feb. 15, 1973) in which they prominently mentioned Walker's departure from the treasury, referred to the name of his new firm and said "industries planning large-scale lobbying would naturally turn to Dr. Walker." Says Evans, "There is absolutely no connection between this newsletter and the column." "We had some knowledge of marketing techniques and we tried to help him get started."

On the lecture circuit, Evans and Novak are paid \$1,500—five times the amount they pay their speakers at the seminars—to deliver a verbal

rendition of "Inside Report" and answer questions. Out with candidates in a campaign to gather material for their column, Evans and Novak may suddenly disappear in the early evening and fly off to a nearby town for a lecture. Once in a while they speak together, but usually they appear separately in talks replete with the names of the movers and shakers of Washington.

Nor have Evans and Novak ignored the financial potential of television. When they packaged their own program, "Evans-Novak Report," a few years ago, Jack Gould, then TV critic of *The New York Times*, praised their enterprise. "The Washington press corps," Gould wrote, "has been a little slow in recognizing that in television, the economic goal is to own a piece of the action. To settle for fees as guests on somebody else's own program may appease the fourth estate's yearning for TV exposure but it is the hard way to run up a capital gain." The endeavor collapsed, but Evans and Novak continue as TV commentators and panelists. A few times a month they are on the Washington outlet of Metromedia, and Novak has gained a reputation for his tough, aggressive questioning on the Sunday network interview shows.

In perhaps the most substantial expression of their reporting, Evans and Novak have published two of the better books on the political life of the Johnson and Nixon administrations—*Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power* (1966) and *Nixon in the White House: The Frustration of Power* (1971). Both are based on material gathered early in the two administrations and the timing of their publication assured wide sales.

From these various enterprises, which substantially supplement their income from the column, Evans and Novak have become among the highest paid political writers for newspapers in the country, perhaps the highest paid after Jack Anderson and Joseph Alsop, who is retiring. One estimate placed their annual net income at between \$65,000 and \$70,000 each but other estimates exceed \$100,000.

—S.E.N.

Seidman, "a long-time Ford insider," seemed to be taking over. Evans and Novak dismissed Seidman as a "Grand Rapids, Mich. millionaire accountant experienced in neither economic policy nor Washington politics." To document this charge, they sprang an anonymous quote aimed at Seidman: "A big man from a small town," sneers one veteran high-level bureaucrat."

Both Mills and Simon have spoken at the seminars sponsored by Evans and Novak (see page 10), according to a list the columnists provided, with Simon among the few who have appeared twice. The seminars, which bring Evans and Novak a gross income of about \$14,000 each time, begin in the morning and continue through lunch to late afternoon cocktails. The speakers talk for a half-hour or so and then answer questions for an hour. A \$300 honorarium is turned over to charity, at least in the cases of Administration officials who cannot accept fees for speaking. So far six seminars have been held, with the first on June 22, 1972. Besides Mills and Simon, the speakers list includes such other column favorites as Robert S. Strauss, the Democratic national chairman, Senator Henry Jackson and Melvin Laird.

In defending the columns against my suggestion that the seminars at least suggest a conflict of interest, Novak responded that General Haig also spoke at one seminar, the only individual who has threatened to sue them over a column, according to Novak. However, it should be noted that this rough treatment in the column occurred after Haig had fallen from the height of power at the White House. Earlier, Evans and Novak had called Haig "sleepless" and "unusually unflappable" as he became almost a substitute President for Nixon.

The Haig suit stemmed from a widely read column that appeared last Sept. 8 in the waning days of his White House tenure. It began: "An urgent feeling by President Ford's closest aides that Gen. Alexander Haig must be removed as his chief of staff soon—perhaps immediately—hit fever pitch in two backstage developments last Thursday." Two developments were chiefly cited—that Haig entered the Oval Office with a "commission" for Ford to sign nominating Patrick Buchanan, an old Nixon speechwriter, as ambassador to South Africa, and that Haig instructed that furniture be moved to the Executive Office Building for press secretary Ronald Ziegler and Stephen Bull, a Nixon aide. Those I interviewed who cover the White House said the source of the column was Robert T. Hartmann, Ford's close adviser. In an article on Hartmann in *The New York Times Sunday Magazine* a few weeks later, Jerry Landay, former White House correspondent for ABC news, said that it was "internal pressures and external news leaks generated and engineered by the canny Mr. Hartmann that hastened General Haig's departure."

Two days before the column appeared, Hartmann addressed a seminar sponsored by Evans and Novak.

Novak admitted recently that he had not checked with Haig or his office before writing the story, but said that he and Evans investigated the piece thoroughly. That may be, but one central fact was erroneous: no commission for an ambassadorial appointment is signed by a President until after confirmation by the Senate, and Buchanan had never even been nominated. Novak acknowledges the error, but maintains that the thrust of the column was correct.

Over its 11-year history, the column has attacked scores of politicians, but none with the



Columnists Rowland Evans, Jr., left, and Robert D. Novak in their Washington office.

ferocity brought down on Sen. George McGovern in his 1972 Presidential campaign. "McGovernism" became a "pervasive political disease" to Evans and Novak. Their assault grew in volume until, of the 93 columns written in the four months before the November election, 37 either assaulted McGovern's political views or belittled his chances of winning, even in Massachusetts, the one state he took.

It is, of course, difficult to draw any cause and effect relationship in the mercurial world of politics, but there seems to be some self-fulfilling aspect to the Evans and Novak product on McGovern. The attack was so relentless and so vituperative that it may have served as an element in bringing about the dimension of the final outcome by discouraging contributions, lowering staff morale, impeding the campaign's pace and oversimplifying the issues.

On April 27, about two weeks before the Nebraska primary, a crucial stretch for McGovern, Evans and Novak published a column entitled "Behind Humphrey's Surge" which said that an unnamed liberal senator whose voting record differed little from McGovern's, felt that "McGovern's surging popularity depends on public ignorance of his acknowledged public positions." "The people don't know McGovern is for amnesty, abortion and legalization of pot," he told us," the column said. "'Once Middle America—Catholic Middle America, in particular—finds this out, he's dead.'" This quote inspired the "Triple-A" attack on McGovern as the candidate of acid, abortion and amnesty, three emotional issues that bedeviled his campaign from then on.

Seventeen months later, on Sept. 13, 1973, Evans and Novak returned to the old column. In response to a charge in a book by Richard Dougherty, a former McGovern aide, that the quote of the liberal senator was fabricated, Evans and Novak reaffirmed its authenticity (without

disclosing the name) but went on to concede that on the question of legalizing marijuana McGovern's position had been "ambiguous," a point not made in 1972. "While opposing marijuana whenever asked, McGovern frequently had spoken sympathetically about its use and compared the drug favorably at least one time with alcohol and tobacco," Evans and Novak wrote.

Evans and Novak, in citing the liberal senator's quote, essentially ignored the meaning of a Senate floor speech McGovern had given only two months earlier, in February 1972, entitled "Toward an End to Drug Abuse." It is regarded as the candidate's definitive statement on the question. In it, he suggested that the limited state and Federal resources be spent controlling hard drugs. On marijuana he said that a "more promising route" of control might be to regulate marijuana along "the same lines as alcohol," hardly a position in favor of legalizing marijuana. In his list of proposals, he said anti-marijuana enforcement should be left to the states. On abortion and amnesty, as well as on marijuana, Evans and Novak never detailed McGovern's position. Instead, they gave credence to the liberal senator's quote by saying that McGovern favored "far-out positions on pot, abortion and draft-dodger amnesty," which they called "symptoms of McGovernism."

In their zeal to pommel McGovern, Evans and Novak also resorted to guilt by association, again using the "hard-news" approach to add credibility to the thrust. On May 15, 1972, they wrote about a network of "worried worker brigades," peopled with Humphrey supporters, that would start out "within the next week" to alert the public to McGovern as a "proponent of busing, an admirer of black revolutionary George Jackson and the Presidential choice of left activist Jerry Rubin."

The columnists' fear of McGovern and his supporters grew out of attitudes expressed in the columns of the sixties, especially in their coverage of the civil rights and peace movements. They

wrote in 1965 of the "bearded, bushy-haired young bravos" of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, which they said had shunned help from white moderates. They said that the late Martin Luther King Jr. was surrendering valuable ground to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, which they said was "substantially infiltrated by beatniks, left-wing revolutionaries and—worst of all—by communists."

Behind some of the key groups that organized opposition to the Vietnam war—a war which Evans and Novak consistently and fervently supported—they found similar forms of domination. The steering committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam "is studded with past and present Communist Party members including veteran party functionary Arnold Johnson," they wrote on Nov. 12, 1969. Turning to campus disorders, in September 1965, they likened the decision of University of California administrators to give microphones to radical speakers to a government's "supplying bullets to the revolution."

Evans and Novak also expressed concern about extremes of the right and warned in 1965 about the "grave threat of the John Birch Society's amazing growth," but their visceral distaste was for the left—the "McGovern zealots," his "army of ideologically rigid activists" with their "long hair, bizarre costumes and peace signs." McGovern personified to Evans and Novak the kind of political figure they could not fathom. Emerging from the Evans-Novak column is a clear warning that political figures must watch the public opinion polls if they hope to succeed: to be out front on an issue is intolerable, stupid; what works is to be admired.

While they were condemning McGovern, Evans and Novak praised the Nixon approach to

campaigning in 1972 because it was clearly going to be successful, even though Nixon spent less time with the voters than any President since Franklin Roosevelt in the wartime election of 1944: "... the fact remains that the last of Richard Nixon's four [sic] campaigns for national office has ended up as his quietest, his dullest and undoubtedly his best," they wrote on Nov. 6, 1972.

Evens and Novak pride themselves on the accuracy of the factual foundation of their columns, but their contempt for politicians who deviate from what is by their definition "centrist" opinion, and their apparent reliance on only one or a few sources for some of their stories, has led them astray over the last year on such diverse subjects as military aid to the Greek junta, the squabbles between factions of the Democratic party and last fall's election.

In a column last August entitled "A Greek Military Scandal," they wrote about a "blatant misuse of American military aid" by the Greek military dictatorship, which they had long opposed. As the sole concrete evidence to support this charge, the column said that during the Cyprus crisis crates of American M-16 rifles were found to contain one or two layers of rifles on the top with rocks, wood and other filler material hidden underneath. Evans and Novak said this "shocking shortage of arms and equipment [which they said probably caused the junta's inaction against Turkey] was the final nail in the coffin of the junta." A quick check at the Pentagon disclosed that the United States had never shipped M-16 rifles to Greece.

Asked about this column, Evans said that he had made a "bad mistake" in referring to the weapons as M-16 rifles, although he maintained that the thrust of the column, which he said came from a "source high in the Greek government," was correct. He said he should have said the weapons were British Enfield rifles. However, a further check with British Embassy officials cast doubt on whether this old British weapon was ever part of an American aid program.

Reporting on the meeting of the Democratic Charter Commission last August in Kansas City, Evans and Novak blamed the discord between reformers and regulars on "a small party faction on the left" who led a walkout after the meeting became dominated by forces that pressed for a reversal of party reforms. Almost all other news accounts were either evenhanded in assessing blame or criticized the regulars for using their muscle unfairly. David S. Broder of *The Washington Post*, who covered the meeting, said that George Meany and Al Barkan of the AFL-CIO "don't want conciliation, they want control of their party back from those who in their view usurped its franchise when they nominated George McGovern in 1972." Evans and Novak, neither of whom went to Kansas City for the meeting, gave Barkan an opportunity in their column to offer a "chilling threat" that labor might "cut its formal ties with the party." Almost two years earlier, on May 30, 1972, the columnists described a similar threat from "the party's left fringe" as "blackmail." Questioned about this column, Novak said he had talked "to a great number of people. . . . We can't be everywhere and I ended up where I was after a day of talking to people. . . . We are not under any compunction to give a balanced report."

The extent of the column's value to official Washington was clearly dramatized during the Watergate disclosures. Apparently the Nixon crowd viewed the column as a convenient transmission belt for their propaganda. Material stolen from the Muskie headquarters found its way to the

columnists who used some of it after checking its authenticity, they said. H.R. Haldeman testified at the Watergate hearings about a memo in which, it was subsequently disclosed, he suggested that information that McGovern was the father of an illegitimate child could be leaked to Evans and Novak after the election to show that the Nixon campaign people refrained from using it when it might have counted. Evans and Novak, after checking it out, never used the material, but the *Washington Post* ran the story after Haldeman's testimony.

Discussing the techniques of leaking in his book, *An American Life: One Man's Road to Watergate*, Jeb Stuart Magruder said that "a good leak must go to a writer who had both credibility and mass circulation; Novak had both." To illustrate this point, Magruder told of a problem the Nixon forces had in trying to warn San Diego that the Republican convention was about to be moved without disclosing the real reason: fear of antiwar demonstrations. It was a "public relations" problem and to solve it Magruder met with Novak at the Sans Souci restaurant to give him "an exclusive, inside story: we were about to move our convention because of San Diego's inadequate hotel and arena facilities. . . . I let Novak read a memo that detailed San Diego's shortcomings. All this was true. San Diego's facilities presented several problems—but it was not the whole truth, since our overwhelming concern was demonstrators. My talk with Novak resulted in a column that said exactly what we'd hoped it would say. It was a good example of how we could achieve our ends by effective leaks to the press."

Violating the common practice of journalists not to publish threats of lawsuits among private parties, Evans and Novak opened their column on Jan. 28, 1973, to Charles W. Colson. The Nixon aide threatened "Time magazine with a multi-million dollar libel suit unless the issue out tomorrow says it regrets not publishing his denial of any link to the conspiracy to bug the Democratic National headquarters at the Watergate." John W. Dean 3d, in the White House transcripts, told Nixon a month after this column appeared that "the Colson threat of a lawsuit that was printed in Evans and Novak had a very sobering effect on several of the national magazines." No lawsuit was ever filed by Colson. Novak said in his interview with me that he and Evans had used "bad judgment" on two or three columns, and this was one of them. "It was just a bad call," Novak said, "We were used."

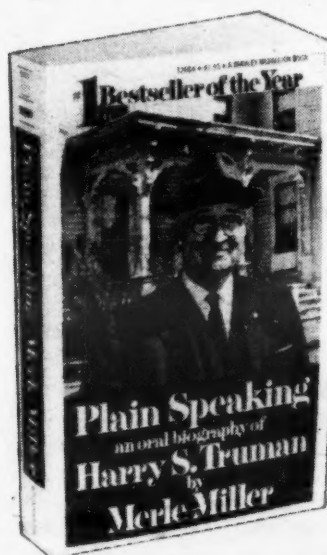
In our interview, Novak insisted that "our basic requirement is accuracy." He said that he and Evans "check out the facts for days. It is inescapable that we make errors, but we try to keep them to a bare minimum." Certainly they keep corrections to a bare minimum. In fact, they almost never publish any. On Sept. 8, 1972, a column emphasized that Ramsey Clark, during a visit to Hanoi, indicated to prisoners of war that "their early freedom depends on electing" George McGovern as president. Six weeks later, on Oct. 20, the columnists wrote the only correction I discovered. It referred back to a "recent" column on Clark in Hanoi and said that a "recheck" of the recorded conversation showed that Clark was quoting a North Vietnamese editor.

Washington journalists and the politically sophisticated may often be able to detect and sort out the misleading or erroneous, but since the column goes out to 253 newspapers it appears to present for the public, to quote Evans and Novak in another context, "a potentially lethal threat." ■

Plain Speaking by Merle Miller

"The book's political candor alone is worth the price of admission, especially in these days when political candor is so much spoken of and so little seen."

—New York Times



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NOW IN PAPERBACK

A Night on the Town with Earl Wilson

BY JUDITH ADLER HENNESSEE

There is only one thing in the world worse than being talked about, and that is not being talked about.

—Oscar Wilde

Earl Wilson, the last of the big-time gossipers, his wife Rosemary (known to readers of his column as "the BW," for Beautiful Wife) and I arrive at The Four Seasons to cover a party. It is a send-up for Joseph E. Levine's latest film, "The Night Porter." The sidewalk outside is lined with celebrity watchers, among them a well-known crasher-about-town whom Rosemary recognizes from other sidewalk encounters. Inside a cable television show host announces "Mr. and Mrs. Earl Wilson!" to Ron Galella and other assorted paparazzi. Most of them are occupied with the preceding celebrity, Charlotte Rampling, the co-star of the movie, who has been catapulted to fame by her role in it and awarded the title of "The Kinky Queen of the Cinema." Wilson doesn't recognize her (he has a wretched memory) even though he has just interviewed her that afternoon at Seafare of the Aegean. The interview was arranged by Mike Hall, Joe Levine's personal press agent, and the restaurant is another of Hall's clients. Both Levine and Hall are close friends of Wilson. Upstairs the publicity firm of Rogers and Cowan, which is handling the movie (as distinct from Levine), has organized a dinner party for 200. Most of the guests are either friends of Levine or press people. Celebrities are scarce. The press is more important. All of the major outlets are represented—*Time*, *Newsweek*, *Women's Wear Daily*, *Cue*, *Variety*, *The Daily News*, *The Village Voice*, *People* magazine, the *National Star*, the *National Enquirer*, movie magazines, photography bureaus. Several passing waiters greet the Wilsons as Mike Hall escorts us to our table. It is *the* table. Wilson always sits at *the* table. This one is round and seats 13. Joe and Rosalie Levine are there; and Liliana Cavani, the director, and Robert Gordon Edwards, the producer. Charlotte Rampling, the guest of honor, is directly opposite me, and Wilson is on her left. The centerpiece is a celebration of the movie—a long, limp black glove surrounded by blood-red carnations, the whole thing encircled by a black chain with a gold lock and key. Stuck in the middle of the flowers is a hotel desk bell.

The photographers, who have abandoned the entrance, close in on us. There are at least a dozen photographers, and all of them are standing in a semicircle in back of me, leaning their equipment on the table which is beginning to list dangerously, popping flashbulbs at Levine and Rampling as if the two of them were going to disappear in a puff of smoke tomorrow. The guests go right on chatting politely. The band is playing "Night and Day." The photographers are joined by reporters who stand around the table scribbling on little notepads. Wilson is scribbling. I am scribbling. Everyone is covering everyone else, a tight little circle feeding off each other. After a while Levine asks Mike Hall to tell them to stop. "Enough already," says Levine. Hall makes a feeble effort. "After all," he says, "that's what they're here for."

Wilson is preoccupied. He had promised to be at the Persian Room of the Plaza for singer Carmel Quinn's opening, but because of the time conflict he had had to send his legman, Marty

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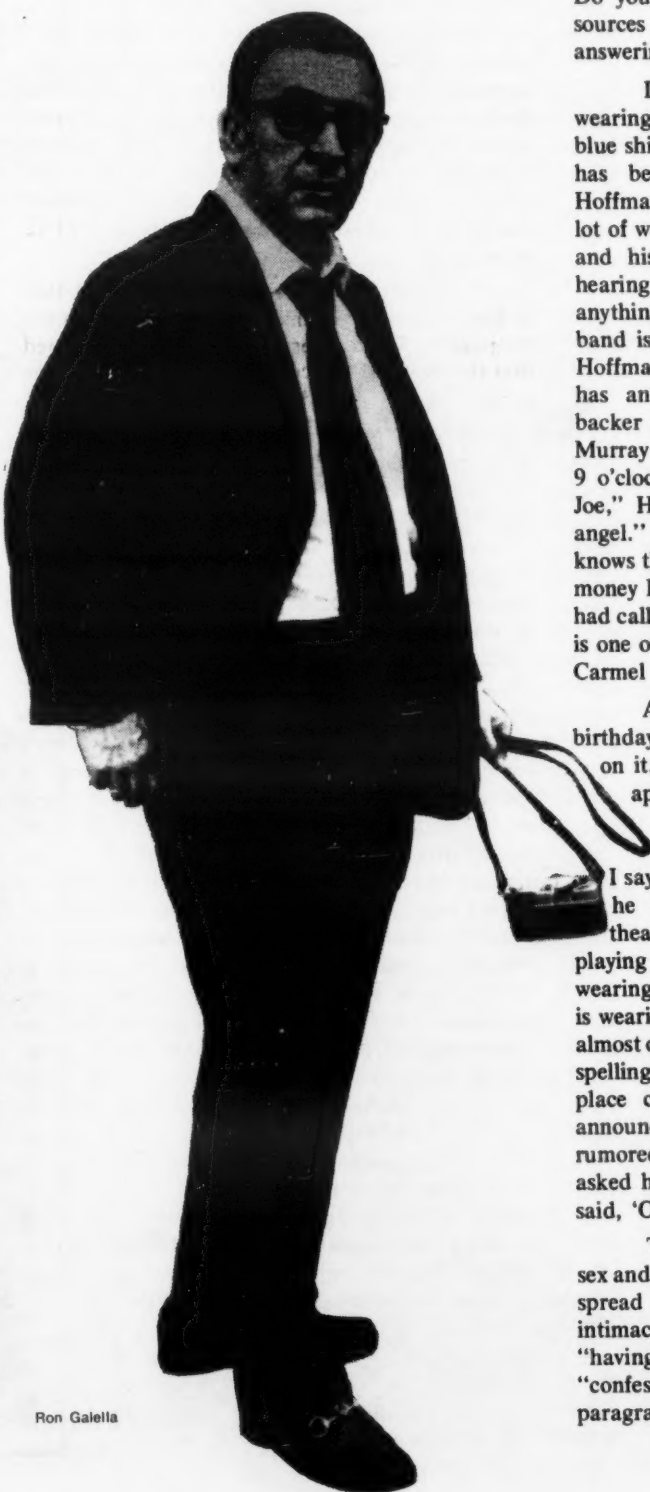
Burden. But more important than the opening is the question of Jackie and Ari. Are they or aren't they getting a divorce? It is the story of the hour. Wilson had printed the perennial rumors in his column that day and had even been credited on the 6 o'clock news with breaking the story. At first he is

reluctant to talk about it. He has the scoop mentality of the Front Page reporter, and he is afraid that I will somehow outcoop him, but as the night wears on, that possibility becomes remote. The story is all over Europe (where the Onassis are), and he has been trying to pin it down for days with every conceivable source—Jackie's lawyer, Judge Simon Rifkind; her press secretary, Nancy Tuckerman; Olympic Airways executive vice president Constantine Gratsos, and an Onassis lawyer in Europe. The Onassis lawyer said, "No comment." Rifkind said, "Nothing would make me think it's true." Nancy Tuckerman said, "If she wanted me to know she would tell me." Wilson says, "It's not too believable. A man who sends back for his wife's water skis to be flown over specially so she can ski isn't about to get a divorce." He frets about the story like a hen with an unhatched egg. The band is playing "Something's Gotta Give." "I heard they had a fight over some Givenchy dresses she bought," he says. "She tried them on for him and he said she looked awful in them. She got mad and went off to Africa in a huff. Do you believe it?" He goes off to phone his sources for the tenth time and to check with his answering service for incoming gossip.

Dustin Hoffman comes to the table. He is wearing a maroon and pale blue plaid suit, a soft blue shirt and a long, wide maroon tie. "Someone has been going around impersonating me," Hoffman says. The impersonator has been dating a lot of women, giving rise to rumors that Hoffman and his wife are separated. Wilson had been hearing the rumors for a month but hadn't printed anything because he couldn't confirm them. The band is playing "My Heart Belongs to Daddy." Hoffman disappears and reappears on stage. He has an announcement to make. The original backer of the off-Broadway show he is directing, Murray Schisgal's "All Over Town," backed out at 9 o'clock that morning. "I suddenly thought of Joe," Hoffman says, "the perfect casting for an angel." Half of his speech is inaudible, but Wilson knows the story anyway. He even knows how much money Levine is putting into the show. Mike Hall had called him that morning with the news, and it is one of several reasons why Wilson has foregone Carmel Quinn at the Plaza.

Another reason is the midnight surprise, a birthday cake for Rosalie Levine with one candle on it. She blows out the candle and we all applaud. The band is playing "This Could Be the Start of Something Big." "Is the cake good?" Joe Levine asks me. "Yes," I say, gobbling it down. He takes a bite. "Ugh," he says. Mick and Bianca Jagger arrive, theatrically late at 12:25 A.M. The band is playing "People Will Say We're in Love." She is wearing a long black dress with spaghetti straps; he is wearing blue jeans and sunglasses. The party is almost over. Just before we leave, Wilson copies the spelling of director Liliana Cavani's name from her place card. Downstairs he asks the television announcer if Jagger has said anything about his rumored separation. "Yes," says the announcer. "I asked him if he would scotch the rumors and he said, 'Okay.'"

The next day in the column it is all there, sex and money, the two great American obsessions, spread out in a naively cute tone of souped-up intimacy: "lovable Levine," "the smiling tycoon," "having his breakfast porridge"; Dustin Hoffman "confessed," for half the column, and then a paragraph on the dubious Onassis divorce, juiced



Ron Galella

Judith Adler Hennessee, a freelance writer who lives in New York, becomes a contributing editor of [MORE] with this issue.

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Wilson's ninth and latest book, *Show Business Laid Bare*, is about pornography in show business. Libraries that stock it can't keep it on their shelves, and it contains gossip of the most deeply satisfying kind. One section is devoted to the late Marilyn Monroe's Kennedy entanglements. Wilson is fascinated with Monroe. Fourteen years after her death he is still telling locker room stories about her. In his Oct. 4 column he had two, one about a fuzzy angora sweater and one about black lace underwear. There's a leering, sexist, partly an expression of the starlet syndrome. If an unknown

[MORE] 15

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Although he is accorded instant recognition at every restaurant he enters, and he rarely has to wait long for his Chablis, Wilson has the air of an outsider on the town for a night, celebrity hunting. There is something tentative about him. He has neither the single-minded ferocity of Kilgallen and Company nor the idiosyncrasies of a Winchell, who carried a gun and had a police radio and siren installed in his car. He dresses in conservative suits and looks like somebody's uncle, and he was immensely pleased one night when a cabdriver called him "a gentleman of the old school."

In the heyday of the gossip columnist, the nastier the item the quicker it got printed. "Earl has known things that would hurt people badly, and he hasn't printed them," says John Springer, one of Wilson's favored press agents. "I've never heard Earl use an off-color expression, and he is notoriously faithful to the BW. He's a little wide-eyed, he has a thing about breasts, but he's always the image of a hick in New York amid all the flesh-pots of Sodom and Gomorrah."

Wilson's ninth and latest book, *Show Business Laid Bare*, is about pornography in show business. Libraries that stock it can't keep it on their shelves, and it contains gossip of the most deeply satisfying kind. One section is devoted to the late Marilyn Monroe's Kennedy entanglements. Wilson is fascinated with Monroe. Fourteen years after her death he is still telling locker room stories about her. In his Oct. 4 column he had two, one about a fuzzy angora sweater and one about black lace underwear. There's a lot of leering in the column, adolescent, leering, sexist, partly an expression of the starlet syndrome. If an unknown

performer wants to get space, her chances are infinitely improved if she wears a size 40C bra and can pose for a good cheesecake photo. There's one decorating almost every column. Wilson's comments on women are confined to their physical attributes: Naura Hayden is "the busty glamor girl" (Oct. 3); Rhonda Fleming is "pushing her best bosom forward," and she "fills out those turtlenecks really nice" (Oct. 8).

Considering the amount of information Wilson squirrels away, much of the column is curiously innocuous, like a box of chocolates without cream fillings. With Wilson playing the eager observer, it begins with an interview, a party, a big opening or a longish anecdote, in which nobody says anything remotely thoughtful, and proceeds down to smaller and smaller items, many of them just the name of an act and where it can be seen. Then come the one-liners and jokes, punctuated by Earl's Pearls, The Midnight Earl, Show Biz Quiz, Today's Best Laugh, Wish I'd Said That and Secret Stuff. Secret Stuff serves up the morsels that, for fear of libel, have to be printed

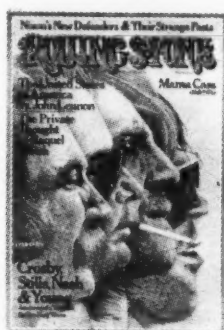
without names, as blind items. (Some recent samples: "A star's wife commanded him to get rid of the broad, or else, and it may mean millions . . ." (Sept. 25); "A producer's wife went after his girlfriend with a knife when she surprised 'em together . . ." (Oct. 4); "One of N.Y.'s most gifted young movie actors dumped his wife . . ." (Sept. 9); "A famed entertainer's forthcoming divorce will cost him a huge amount—because he rejected his lawyer's advice about a prenuptial agreement . . ." (Oct. 2).

The real insiders, of course, know whose hand held the knife, who got dumped and approximately how large the amount of money will be. For the rest of us, the gossip is a reward for our star-gazing, a chance for vicarious participation in the lives of the beautiful and celebrated. But Wilson's kind of column, with its roots in a Broadway that has decayed into pornography and a Hollywood that has lost its glitter, is not likely to survive him. His style is that of another generation. Gossip these days comes in a different package,

just as tacky but with a veneer of "respectability." *The New York Times* shyly offers us "Notes on People" every day. *New York* magazine has its "Intelligencer," *TV Guide* its "Teletypes," Time Inc. a whole magazine, *People*.

When Leonard Lyons retired he wasn't replaced, and neither of the other most well-known columnists reaches a national audience: not Joyce Haber of *The Los Angeles Times*, who is capable of becoming another Kilgallen, nor Suzy of the *Daily News*, whose beat is mainly the beautiful people. "We live less by the Earl Wilsons now than ever before," a press agent says. "There are more outlets now because of fashion pages and interviews in newspapers, and the stars have other projects—they write books and design clothes. The nature of the star has changed, so Wilson's power and scope are not what they used to be." But whether Wilson or someone else is there to report, people will continue to go to restaurants in the hope of seeing celebrities, and the Joe Levines will continue to give parties, secure in the knowledge that gossip, like commerce, is inevitable. ■

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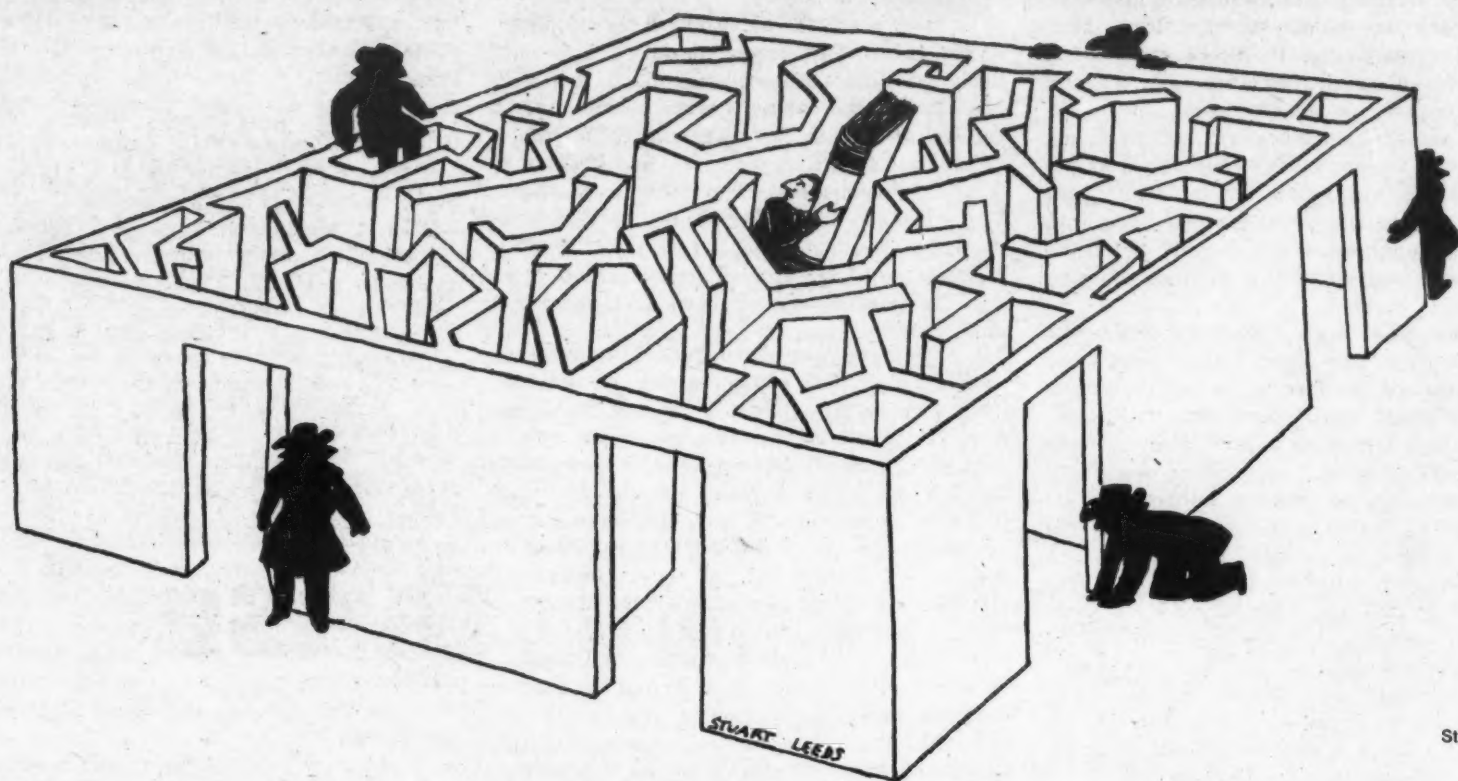
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The Book That Came In From The Cold

BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Early last September, Victor Marchetti, the former C.I.A. officer, was getting ready for a trip to England. He was off to promote his book (co-authored by John Marks), *The C.I.A. and the Cult of Intelligence*. One evening an old friend who was still with the C.I.A. appeared at the door, wife and children in tow; he'd "just happened" to be in Marchetti's neighborhood in Virginia, not far from Washington, D.C. A discreet moment arrived when the two men were alone in the kitchen and Marchetti says his former colleague said, "Listen, I was talking to the chiefs today and we'd like you to do us a big favor. We want you to steal the Agee manuscript."

Philip Agee, who was recruited by the C.I.A. in 1956 and worked as a clandestine services officer in Latin America until he resigned in early 1969, now lives in England, where his own account of life and times with the agency, *Inside the Company: A C.I.A. Diary*, will be published by Penguin on January 2. Unlike Marchetti and Marks, Agee names names of agents and officers, businesses and embassy positions doubling as C.I.A. covers, local politicians on the C.I.A. payroll. Agee's is the first account of what C.I.A. officers actually do, day in, day out, in the field.

Marchetti told his visitor he was surprised the agency didn't already have Agee's manuscript. It had been seen around London, Washington and publishers' offices in New York. His friend claimed they didn't have it. "We understand that you have some basic differences with us," he went on, according to Marchetti, "but you're a loyal, patriotic American. You have principles; there are certain things you wouldn't do. Now this Agee, he's gone off the deep end. He's a radical, and he's going to jeopardize innocent people—your old buddies." (Once an idealistic conservative, Agee makes clear in his manuscript his current commitment to socialism.) Marchetti, well aware that exposure by

**Philip Agee's
kiss-and-tell book
about the C.I.A. will be
published next month
in England.**

The C.I.A. is hardly enthusiastic; nor are a half-dozen New York publishers, all of whom turned down the manuscript.

your old buddies is just another occupational hazard of intelligence work, told his friend he'd think about it.

Once he arrived in England, Marchetti discussed the offer with Agee and they decided the C.I.A. was either trying to get Marchetti into a bind and discredit him, "or else co-opt me and somehow turn a liability into an asset." Certainly the agency had been treating Marchetti as a liability up to the evening his friend came to call. In a two-year-court battle that is still going on, the C.I.A. has succeeded in censoring the Marks-Marchetti book ["Undercovering the C.I.A."—April, 1974]. Their publisher, Alfred A. Knopf, brought out the book this spring with scores of court-ordered deletions (many, but not all, ordered restored on appeal).

Not surprisingly, the C.I.A. has been working hard for many months, directly and indirectly, to prevent Agee from publishing his book. Marchetti was at his evening visitor's house on the Fourth of July, and was told then that Agee was a drain on KGB or at least a Cuban agent. As for manuscript, Agee says that the agency found out about his planned expose when he foolishly mentioned it in a letter to a Uruguayan magazine.

1971. In January 1972, the C.I.A. dispatched an old acquaintance of Agee's to Paris to tell him point-blank that then-director Richard Helms wanted to know what he was up to. Agee had only finished about one-third of his research, but he decided to say that his book was finished.

As he went on working in Paris and later in London, where he moved in October 1972, he says he was obliged to shake off a series of suspicious types who lent him a bugged typewriter, displayed excessive interest in his address and followed him loaded with shopping bags, presumably filled with tape equipment. In September 1972, a lawyer from the C.I.A.'s general counsel staff visited Agee's wife, from whom he was separated. Agee's 10-year-old son overheard the lawyer's conversation with his mother in their Washington home and wrote Agee that the C.I.A. wanted to offer him money ("thousands of dollars," Marchetti says) and even a new job if he would give up his book project.

Last July, the C.I.A. tried to discredit Agee by planting a story in several newspapers, including *The New York Times*, that a "drunk and despondent" C.I.A. man had told all to a KGB agent somewhere in the bowels of Latin America. "I called Phil," said Marchetti, "and told him it was time to surface."

The week after Marchetti's friend's September visit, Neil Middleton, an editor who regularly commissions political books for Penguin, and who had signed Agee in 1972 after finding him through New Left sources in London, arrived in New York to sell the U.S. rights to Agee's book. Dutton, Putnam, Macmillan, Viking, Doubleday, Random House, McGraw-Hill and Knopf read the manuscript—and all turned it down. Each was emphatic that the rejection was “not a matter of pounds of or publishers cowed by the C.I.A.” All insisted that libel threats would not have stopped them. The only difference was that Agee's over-700 page manuscript was so tedious that it would be impossible to get people to read it.

Agee uses a diary form to describe his 12-

Ann Marie Cunningham is a writer and editor who lives in New York.

year career in the C.I.A., beginning with his recruitment as a college graduate. He was posted to Ecuador, Uruguay, and Mexico City, where he describes the day-to-dailiness of officers' lives: recruiting agents, paying off officials, and planting propaganda—not to mention office-politicking and bickering among themselves. Some of his experiences are chilling; others are ludicrous, and amply explain Gordon Liddy's grandiose ideas and E. Howard Hunt's knack for bungling. Agee poisons his own pet while experimenting with watchdog tranquilizers, and in an early Watergate, is surprised by startled maids as he installs bugging equipment in a closet.

Macmillan, which dropped out even before Middleton got to New York, felt the manuscript was just not worth the price (in the high-five- or six-figure bracket) it was assumed Penguin wanted. Putnam, which did not say no until October, found the manuscript "dated," and said editorial problems, not price, was the objection. Others found the manuscript so boring that they never got into financial or legal discussions. Dutton, which also dropped out early, said that Middleton had tried and failed to persuade Agee to write "a more storytelling version." Knopf pleaded C.I.A. overdose (upward of \$150,000 in legal costs alone). Sources there said, "We're thoroughly enmeshed in Marchetti, and we're just not prepared to take on another C.I.A. book. It's not an instantly attractive object, and it's simplest to say it's really dull."

A Random House source was rather ambivalent: "It's a very valuable but very dull book. It would be one thing if he described an interesting country—Greece or something—but Quito, Ecuador, is hard to take. Someone should publish it, though, and I wouldn't want to discourage people from reading it." Any "very valuable" manuscript, of course, can be edited to make it

readable. In Middleton's view, the primary reason the New York publishers rejected the book was fear of legal problems.

Lawyers at the publishing firms are jumpy on two counts. They argue that the C.I.A. is quite likely to enjoin the book and that it is a libel bombshell because Agee fingers businesses and embassy officials as past or present C.I.A. fronts. "I have had a lot of legal advice," says Middleton, "and the opinions range from serious to no threat. The American Civil Liberties Union [which if necessary, has agreed to handle Agee and his expenses, as it has Marchetti] feels that there is no problem post-Ellsberg. Publishing lawyers are more cautious."

The prevailing legal opinion is that the CIA could not successfully enjoin the book over here. As it will have been published in England, it will be more or less readily available and in the public domain. "That would be the first argument I would make," says Floyd Abrams, who handled the Pentagon Papers case for Random House and is now Knopf's lawyer for Marks-Marchetti. Abrams believes it is possible that the agency, instead of mounting a direct attack as it did on the Marchetti book, would snipe at the Agee diary with libel suits. "But, after all, truth is a defense in this country." He added hastily that "this is not to say that a publisher might not be taking on an expensive law suit." Mel Wulf, Agee's lawyer at the A.C.L.U., agrees with Abrams about the futility of enjoining the book. And he feels passages could be rewritten prior to publication to avoid libel suits. In that case, what could publishers be scared of? "Beats the shit outta me," Wulf says.

Though stymied in New York, Penguin's Middleton has made deals for the book in Mexico, France, Norway, Denmark and Portugal, and sales

are expected in Germany, Italy, Japan and Brazil. (Besides publishing the book in England, Penguin will do so in Australia, New Zealand and Canada.) Late in October he finally managed to find a U.S. publisher willing to take on the project—in San Francisco.

Rolling Stone's book division, Straight Arrow, paid Penguin \$10,000 (advance, paperback and hardcover rights) for the U.S. rights. "We didn't have a lot of money arguments," says Alan Rinzler, Straight Arrow's president. Although at this writing no contract has been signed, it is a firm deal as far as Rinzler is concerned. Already listed in the Straight Arrow catalog, the book is planned for May publication and will be excerpted in *Rolling Stone*.

If Middleton had come to Straight Arrow first, Rinzler says, he wouldn't have had any trouble. "We were the logical choice. Agee wanted us because we interviewed him" [by Daniel Yergin, *Rolling Stone*, Nov. 21, 1974]. Rinzler's most surprising news was that both Agee and Middleton were amenable to cutting. During earlier dealings in New York, they were repeatedly described as unwilling to edit what is indisputably a numbing manuscript. "It's too fucking long. Middleton's assistant edited it, and since they were rushing it into print, they didn't have time to do a proper job" says Rinzler.

Anthony Brown, a San Francisco lawyer, is vetting the manuscript for Straight Arrow. He didn't want to make predictions about restraint or libel suits, but he had read enough to decide that "it's a mystery to me why the CIA hasn't expressed itself." To prompt the agency, [MORE] phoned Angus Thurmer, an assistant to director William Colby. Thurmer said a lot of "non-information" about the Knopf case was floating about and he'd have "one of our legal beagles" call back. None of them gave tongue.

In London, Middleton confirmed that he and Rinzler had an "agreement." He said he had no choice but to accept Straight Arrow's offer, since all the larger publishers he had approached had turned him away. Middleton said he had edited the book himself, adding that it had not been rushed into print because "we've been working on it for two years." He said he had never objected to any publisher making cuts. Having cut the manuscript in half once already, however, Middleton said he was tired of battling his author. "They'll have to do it, not me. Agee is the kind of author who wants to preserve every comma." ■

Colby Calling

Late on the afternoon of Oct. 29, Les Whitten, the senior man on Jack Anderson's staff, received a phone call from CIA chief William Colby. Colby had learned that the Anderson column scheduled for publication the next day would identify the CIA's man in Peking as James R. Lilley, who was supposedly a State Department "political officer." Colby complained to Whitten that the story would necessitate Lilley's recall, since his cover would be blown. Whitten responded that it was too late to stop the item and that it hardly mattered since it was a preview of an article in the November issue of *The Washington Monthly*, in which John Marks, co-author of *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, explains how the CIA personnel in many U.S. embassies can be easily identified by checking a few public documents.

Colby also phoned Charles Peters, editor of *The Washington Monthly*, the day after he spoke with Whitten. According to Peters, Colby urged him to stop publication of the Marks article, saying, "I would love to have that about the KGB." Peters said it was too late, since the magazine would go on the newsstands the next day.

Although Colby struck out with Whitten and Peters, one of his subordinates apparently fared better in an effort to kill a sidebar *Time* magazine was considering running with its Sept. 30 cover story on the agency. Someone at *Time* suggested publishing a list of CIA station chiefs, since many are well known in their areas. "In Saigon," says one *Time* source, "everyone knows who the station chief is (Thomas Polgar) but the journalistic rule of

thumb is that he isn't identified in print. In London the fellow (Cord Meyer) is extremely well known, and his arrival was announced in the *Manchester Guardian*." *Time* sent queries on the CIA station chiefs to its correspondents in Washington and abroad, but the response was apparently mostly negative. From Buenos Aires, according to *Time* editor Ronald Kriss, the reply was that "we would be making it untenable and maybe unlivable for the guy."

A similar message was conveyed to Murray Garth, *Time*'s chief of correspondents, by a CIA man Garth said was not Colby but refused to identify because to do so would "break the confidentiality of the source." The agency man, according to Garth, "simply put in a pitch not to talk about CIA station chiefs in public because it might put their lives in jeopardy." Garth asked how the agency had learned the contents of the magazine's internal query to its correspondents. "They said that one of our correspondents had shown one of their people the query," Garth recalls, "and it's quite possible that it did happen that way. It's also quite possible that some local government intelligence operation tapped one of our telexes and turned it over to the CIA."

However the CIA got wind of the project, *Time* decided not to go ahead with it. Garth insists the magazine reached its decision "quite independently" but acknowledges that the CIA's appeal was "one piece of advice" that went into it.

—BRIT HUME

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The Battle Over 'Hearts and Minds'

(continued from page 8)

The remarks in question follow:

Section I:

George Coker: ...Why did I go to Vietnam? I will have to go back to 1965 when I was twenty-two years old. At that time, Communism was once again trying to muscle its way into a free country.

Walt Rostow: I know of no communist analysis or non-communist analysis that would assert that the majority of the people in that country would want to be communist.

Question: Why do they need us then?

Rostow: Because they were subjected to military attack from outside. The ... Are you really asking me this god damn silly question? You really want me to go into this Mr. Davis? I mean you know we really got to go back to ... You want me to just go back to the origins of this thing then? All right, I'll do it, but, ah, this is pretty pedestrian stuff I must say, at this late stage of the game. Honestly it is. I'll do it. All right.

Question: But there's a lot of disagreement about the origins.

Rostow: No there's not. No there's not. There's no doubt. All right, now I'll answer your question and you can throw away that tape. I didn't really expect to have to go back to this kind of sophomoric stuff, but I'll do it.

The problem began in its present phase after the sputnik, the launch of the sputnik in 1957, October. This opened a phase of not well-coordinated but universally optimistic and hopeful communist enterprise in many parts of the world.

Lyndon Johnson: Renewed hostile actions against United States ships on the high seas in the Gulf of Tonkin have today required me to order the military forces of the United States to take action in reply.

Section II:

Senator Fulbright: The letters and the reports we had on Ho Chi Minh's attitude back in 1946—he

wrote I think it was seven letters to this government and received no reply. The pathos, the sadness—here's a man who felt and believed the United States would be sympathetic to his purpose of gaining his independence from colonial power. And then to find we ... you know this is what he'd read, he'd been here, he'd read our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence—he thought surely the United States would be interested. We had testimony in the committee that his one worry was that it was so insignificant, Vietnam was so far, and so insignificant, that we would never bother about it. It's too small to ever attract the attention of the United States. He was sure in his own mind that if we would ever put our minds in focus upon it we would be for him. How different history would have been for us, and for them, if we had felt a common interest in a colonial province like Vietnam seeking its independence from France.

Rostow: The Ho Chi Minh of 1956 I don't think could have got elected dogcatcher in South Vietnam.

Daniel Ellsberg: Ho Chi Minh could beat any candidate we've ever put in Vietnam.

Section III:

Rostow: As for my own view, I thought through as best I could the meaning of Southeast Asia to the United States in the 1950's. Looking backward and looking forward in terms of what I know about the dynamics of societies and so on, and on balance, it is an on-balance judgment, I came to the judgment that it's of vital interest to the United States. I've never had any reason to change that judgment. And therefore I do believe that what we've ... that what we have done is generally right, although I would have preferred to have seen a different, more decisive military strategy.

Rostow insists he never authorized use of this material—that he refused to sign the standard release form until he had seen and approved the taping, and that once he had seen the transcripts

he did not approve the use of his remarks. He argues that his angry outburst is used only to demean him, and that his one-line comment about Ho Chi Minh is taken entirely out of context to make him look foolish.

Davis has refused to alter the film, and Rostow's lawyers may soon file papers in California's Superior Court, asking for an injunction against screenings unless the offending Rostow sections are deleted. They would argue that it is an invasion of privacy for "Hearts and Minds" to exhibit Rostow's image and words without his consent. What the court would then have to determine, among other things, is the exact nature of the implications regarding consent in the early Davis-Rostow correspondence, and whether Rostow has a right to control the way footage is used.

Columbia and BBS are also fighting over insurance. When the film was delivered last summer, BBS had \$1 million in coverage, and was told that Columbia had a \$1 million policy of its own. "If someone were to take legal action against the film," said Schneider in late September, "we're more than adequately covered. But Columbia said our \$1 million was not enough. They said they'd like additional protection, and so we got \$4 million more in insurance. And that's not okay, either. 'How do we know your policy's valid?' they ask."

At the end of October, Schneider and Davis learned that Columbia had not only the \$1 million policy originally discussed but another \$20 million worth of insurance as well. However, Columbia maintains the problem is not with the amount of coverage but with whether either policy would

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cover this particular film. "What they claim to be worried about in our policy," says BBS lawyer Jack Quinn, "is the clause that says we have exercised 'due diligence to ascertain that the releases have been properly procured.'"

For all Columbia's professed concern about insurance and the law, what bothers the company most is money. So far, Columbia has paid out about \$1 million for "Hearts and Minds." Distribution would cost another \$200,000 to \$500,000. *Variety* predicts that the film "should overcome the usual b.o. problems of docu and find its place theatrically...since its theme and treatment are international rather than only American in import." But Richard Roud didn't want it for this fall's New York Film Festival: "Vietnam is passé," he said. "Who cares about it anymore?" The success of "That's Entertainment" and the current spate of disaster films suggest that moviegoers in these inflationary, post-Watergate times are hard after escape. "Hearts and Minds" is anything but that, and Columbia knows it.

When the trouble over the film first started there was talk of bankers, the board of directors and Columbia's financial difficulties. Those difficulties are enormous. Columbia Pictures Industries (CPI), which includes a number of television and radio stations, a music publishing division, Bell Records, Screen Gems and Columbia Pictures Television as well as Columbia Pictures, has lost an estimated \$85.7 million since 1971. The company's stock, which in 1968 ranged from a low of 21 to a high of 43, this year has yet to rise above 5. And the firm's total bank debt is at \$166.7 million. Moody's rating service gives Columbia's bonds a Caa ("poor standing") mark: "Such issues

may be in default or there may be present elements of danger with respect to principal or interest."

In December 1971, CPI was refinanced by a consortium of 14 European and U.S. banks, led by First National of Boston and including Bank of America. The deal called for \$180 million in revolving credit until 1976. In return for the loan, Columbia pledged virtually all its real and personal property not otherwise bound by earlier agreements. Columbia has mortgages on both its real property and broadcasting holdings, including one of approximately \$15 million on its broadcasting subsidiaries and \$7 million on its headquarters at 711 Fifth Ave. To date, CPI has sold WVUE-TV, a New Orleans ABC affiliate, for about \$13 million, plus Trans-World Communications and Learning Corporation of America. And there has been talk of selling the Fifth Ave. headquarters building.

In the summer of 1973, several top-level corporate and management shifts occurred at Columbia. On June 20, Herbert A. Allen joined CPI's board of directors. Mr. Allen is president of Allen & Co., Inc., Columbia's new investment bankers. On June 7, Stanley Schneider (Bert's brother) announced that he would resign as first vice president and director of CPI and president of the movie division. On June 29, Alan J. Hirschfield took Schneider's place on the board. Hirschfield, a former associate of Herbert Allen's, was once financial vice president of Warner Bros.-Seven Arts. On July 25, Abe Schneider (Bert's father), a co-founder of Columbia and chairman of the CPI board, was moved upstairs to honorary chairman. Leo Jaffe changed chairs from president and chief executive to chairman of the board. Alan Hirschfield became president and chief executive. And David Begelman, an agent with no experience as a

movie executive, was appointed to replace Stanley Schneider as president of Columbia Pictures.

As of October 1974, the 13 members of Columbia's board of directors have direct and indirect ties to nearly 25 per cent of the common stock of CPI. Nine of those 13 members are or have been investment bankers. The deeper into debt a corporation gets, the more power rests in the hands of the people who bankroll it. At Columbia's annual meeting in 1973, Hirschfield announced that he had been told by the 14-bank consortium that "we had better do a job and had better do it quickly."

Politics in Hollywood is the politics of money. The days of McCarthy and the "Hollywood 10" weren't so long ago that talk of politics in the movie business sounds patently paranoid, but in the 1960's just about anything could go as long as it made money. Schneider's own "Easy Rider" and, more recently, the sleeper "Billy Jack" were "radical" films that made their respective fortunes under big studio logos. But they were fiction, and those were affluent years. A documentary that tells unpleasant truths about America, in recessionary times, at a studio on the critical list, may be in terminal limbo.

Columbia owns the negative of "Hearts and Minds." It can release the film, or deep-six it, or pursue a passive-suppressive "it's under discussion" policy indefinitely. Davis and Schneider still hope the picture will be released soon. If it isn't, they may sue for damages, or try to buy back the film from Columbia, or arrange for some other means of release.

Meanwhile, "Hearts and Minds" is gathering dust on a shelf in Burbank.

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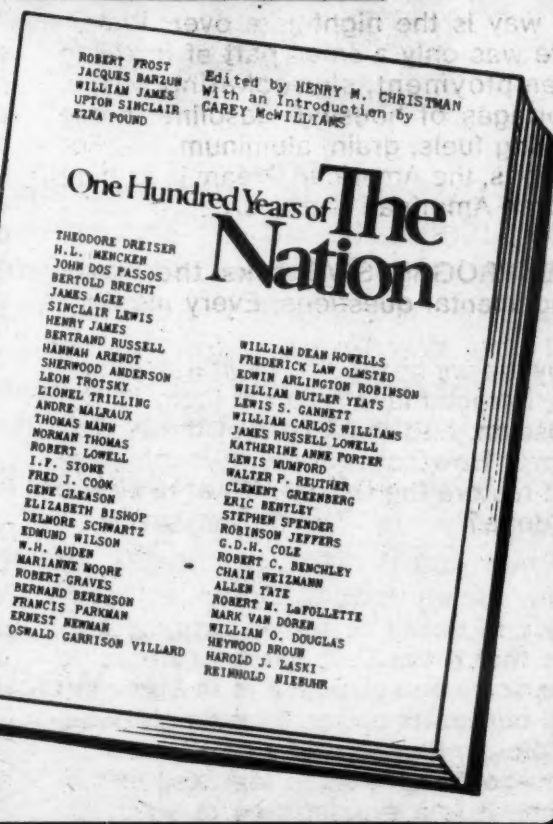
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Marcus Raskin
"The System Impeached"
in THE PROGRESSIVE

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Sidney Lens
"Running Out of Everything"
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LETTERS

(continued from page 2)

"racism in reverse" as a superlative piece. Smith was encouraged to do the column by white editors in the sports department. He can do similar columns anytime he wishes. He has been told that many times.

4. Finally, Ralbovsky writes that Sandy Padwe, "for all practical purposes," runs the sports department at *Newsday*. If it appears that way to Ralbovsky or anyone else, I have no objection because I consider Padwe to be the finest sports journalist in the country today.

Ralbovsky makes some valid points about black sportswriters, but I find it regrettable that he had to rely on assumptions and innuendo to support those points.

—Richard Sandler
Sports Editor
Newsday
Garden City, N.Y.

I have no disagreement with Martin Ralbovsky over the need to increase the number of black sportswriters and to allow black sportswriters to express themselves as blacks. Philosophically, Ralbovsky usually is on the progressive side of most issues in sports. He knows the problems and the subtleties. But is passion enough? If he ever learns to combine his considerable passion with journalistic accuracy he will make an important contribution to sports and journalism.

In past months I have learned that his article in your last issue represents typical Ralbovsky journalism. He embraces an issue which nobody can quarrel with, and then assumes self-righteousness and opinion will negate incomplete, inaccurate and dishonest reporting.

He states, in reference to me, "He was of the opinion that you just could not take a black writer and hand him a column—if he failed at it you'd be doing him more harm than good, and doing all future black writers more harm than good. But wasn't that the same thing white baseball team owners had been saying for years about black managers?"

I simply never said that to Ralbovsky or to anyone. It is a fabrication. I do not believe that theory about failure regarding blacks. I never have and never will. In fact, I always have believed that this country will have made progress when blacks are free to fail as easily as whites. My writings on black athletes and black issues in sports over the last several years clearly define my stance on that issue, and those stories and columns are available in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Newsday* libraries. But Ralbovsky never checked. Ralbovsky's logic deteriorates even more because he knows that the *Newsday* sports department is actively looking for more black journalists. If I felt the way Ralbovsky reported, why bother?

Ralbovsky first spoke to me about black sportswriters last April during his two-month stay in the *Newsday* sports department. He took no notes nor did he use a tape recorder. We discussed the issue again early in October in a telephone conversation. I then sent him a letter hoping to define my ideas in greater depth.

In the letter I tried to explain the historical background of the problem regarding sports departments and black sportswriters: "... If newspapers and what media there was in the 20's, 30's and 40's ignored black baseball completely, then how could the sportswriting business think of

black sportswriters?... Until Jackie Robinson... there was very little written about blacks... They [black athletes] were truly invisible men as far as sports were concerned... Sportswriters never—until all hell erupted in the late 60's—had to worry about angry blacks or clenched fists or Afros..."

The remnants of the old line sports journalism are beginning to fade. But the legacy of that era remains. It is not easy for a black sportswriter today. But it is improving. For writer and black athlete. I do not have the space to list the number of stories—done by blacks and sensitive whites at *Newsday*—reflecting the anger and humanity of the black athlete. The number is considerable. Doug Smith has done quite a few in the three years he has been a sportswriter. All his sportswriting experience has been at *Newsday*.

Of course, it takes time to train a journalist right out of college, high school or, in Doug Smith's case, the Army. It takes time to train black journalists and white journalists. Unfortunately until more blacks become editors, much of that training will be by whites and white perceptions will seep into that training. But if that training is handled with sensitivity and honesty, blacks will not have to write and edit "white" as Ralbovsky says. Blacks will write and edit as journalists.

Ralbovsky also says, referring to Smith's "white copy": "He was bringing home all the canned goodies so palatable to white copyreaders: teamwork, unity, clutch-shooting, etc." I know of no other sports section in this country which tries harder to eliminate the clichés and myths of sportswriting. That has been one of my prime objectives since becoming sports editor at *Newsday* in October 1973. If Ralbovsky had read *Newsday* regularly since he left last April, he would have noticed how free our section is of those stereotypes and clichés. He also would have seen Doug Smith's story recently about the problems and potential dissension involved in Dave DeBusschere's role with the Nets. Hardly a team unity, teamwork treatise. But Ralbovsky didn't mention it.

Ralbovsky also says the "stock answer for the scarcity of black sportswriters, I discovered after having worked at... *The Times* and *Newsday*, is that 'blacks can't write.' " That is the big brush which injures a lot of innocent people. That is not the feeling of the editors in *Newsday* sports. But Ralbovsky never tells us with whom he spoke at *Newsday*. And he did not, according to Doug Smith, seek Smith's views on this issue and others in his article, which is the ultimate irony for a writer who claims the white sports press doesn't care what blacks think.

—Sandy Padwe
Sports News Editor
Newsday
Garden City N.Y.

As a newspaperman who was criticized (by his publisher) as long ago as 1957 for writing too much sociology on the sports pages, I can appreciate Marty Ralbovsky's impatience. I, too, would like to see editors giving blacks the same opportunities as whites to be good, bad or mediocre sportswriters. I, too, would like to see less fantasy and more reality on the sports pages—on racism in sports, on sexism in sports, on those lovely tax shelters by which all of us subsidize the hobbies of millionaire club owners, on many other subjects.

Nonetheless, I was disappointed to see one

friend of mine, Ralbovsky, take a shot at another friend of mine, Sandy Padwe, because Padwe in one year as a sub editor hasn't solved all the problems created by more than 100 years of racism in our business. To criticize Padwe in 1974 for not hiring a black columnist is almost like criticizing Branch Rickey in 1947 for not hiring a black manager. Padwe has been way ahead of 99.99 per cent of the people in this business both in awareness and commitment.

I can't understand why Ralbovsky would take a shot at him and not even mention the man who occupies the most influential position in sports journalism, James Tuite, the sports editor of *The New York Times*. Since Tuite became sports editor of the *Times* in mid-1973 (and even before that when he was in command of the Sunday sports section), he has revealed himself as an apostle of fan magazine journalism (fantasy and escape). I see very little attempt by the *Times* to explore the sociopolitical issues in sports. Even that impressive series (impressive only for its bulk) on the big business of college athletics turned up almost nothing we didn't already know. Tuite has more manpower at his disposal than any other sports editor in the U.S. (the world?); he has a budget bigger than Albania's. Now there's a target if Ralbovsky wanted to criticize somebody for foot-dragging.

—George Kiseda
The Los Angeles Times
Los Angeles, Calif.

Postmortem

It was bad enough that the *New York Post* killed Paul Zimmerman's excellent wine column because of advertiser pressure [The Big Apple—November 1974]. Now the *Post*, in hot pursuit of a buck, has insulted its already injured wine-loving readers.

Zimmerman's successor in writing "The Wine Rack" column is, of all people, Saul Krieg. Look up the name in the phone book and you find "Saul Krieg Assoc. publcly." Krieg is indeed a publicist. From his first column, which dealt with the virtues of Valpolicella and Amarone, two types of wines that a number of Italian shippers send to the U.S.:

I've visited these vineyards and especially enjoyed Bertani Valpolicella at the winery. The Italians, too, seem to favor Bertani, a highly respected vintner, although Bolla, Ruffino and a few others offer reliably good Valpolicella....Amarone is the elegant sister to Valpolicella....I recommend Bertani Amarone, retailing at \$7.77.

Krieg, who does enjoy a solid reputation as a wine expert, may well prefer the wines shipped by Bertani. But it is mighty suspicious when we learn that Bertani wines are imported by Carillon Importers, Ltd. And that Saul Krieg handles publicity and advertising for, you guessed it, Carillon.

To get an idea of one form of journalism that Krieg practices—and the *Post* seems to be consecrating—nip over to Brentano's and peek into two of Krieg's books, *What's Cooking in Portugal* and *The Alpha and Omega of Greek Cooking*. The first, purporting to be a cookbook of authentic Portuguese recipes, reads like an extended commercial for the wines of the C. Da Silva Wine Company. In the brief introductory material, Krieg mentions the name of his host—Da Silva—an incredible 32 times. Wherever the recipes call for wine, the Da Silva brand is specified by name. In the Greek book, Krieg mentions the name of the Achaia-Clauss Wine Company 20 times in the introductory material, which actually includes a

separate section on the wines of Achaia-Clauss. Who imports Achaia-Clauss? Yup, it's Carillon again.

Mind you, these books aren't giveaway premiums. They're being sold for top dollar at legit bookstores, bearing the colophon of a well-known publisher, Macmillan.

Macmillan? Oh well, that's another story.

—Neil Leonard
New York, N.Y.

That Junket

J. Anthony Lukas and some of his readers may get a chuckle out of his and a Simon & Schuster flack's smart-ass bit of fakery in getting Lukas a free trip to The Netherlands, by allowing him to be made out as representing *The Atlantic Monthly* ["I Got The Queen in the Morning..."—November 1974]. But we at *The Atlantic* deeply resent it. If [MORE] wants to eat the handouts and lap up the free booze while presuming to lecture the rest of us on the morals of journalism, that's [MORE]'s business. *The Atlantic*, however, keeps company with that distressingly small group of newspapers and magazines that doesn't allow its editors or writers to participate in such junkets and related expense-free shenanigans, and is proud of that policy. Surely [MORE], Lukas, and that "publicity" person at Simon & Schuster know that there are laws that proscribe such unauthorized and damaging misuse of a publication's name.

—Robert Manning
Editor in Chief
The Atlantic Monthly
Boston, Mass.

Tony Lukas, writing about press junkets remarks,

"What is wicked about a junket is not the very act of going on one—there is nothing inherently corrupting about travel or good food—but whether one pays off with promotional puffery."

I disagree. If, after going on a junket, you write *nothing* about the trip, you have in effect accepted a free vacation from the sponsor of the tour, and your credibility will be suspect should you ever have cause to write about the sponsor in the future. More important, you will have allowed the sponsor to monopolize your time when you could have been out writing about something worthwhile.

Whether you pay off or not, junkets are a bad scene. The crucial question is, who will have access to the media—people with newsworthy stories, or people with goodies for reporters?

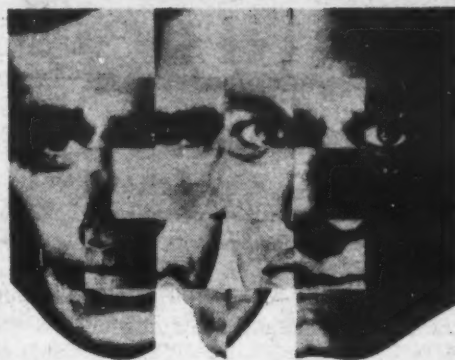
—Dan Rottenberg
Executive Editor
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Checking Account At The Chase

So who are Dan Dorfman's friends at Chase Manhattan? Must we now reckon with leaking bankers as well as leaking bureaucrats? That's what some very upset Chase officers are trying to find out and put to an end to.

Twice in recent weeks Dorfman has printed confidential financial information about Chase customers in his *New York* magazine business column, "The Bottom Line." First he ran seemingly authentic bank statements detailing the trust holdings of Chase's two most important customers, Nelson Rockefeller and brother David, the bank's chairman. Then Dorfman revealed the exact amounts of money in various checking accounts maintained by John and Martha Mitchell, noting that Martha was overdrawn and that John seemed to keep a higher balance than his pleas of poverty to Martha's divorce lawyers would indicate.

While the Mitchells, according to



Marty Norman

a Chase spokesman, have not yet complained to the bank about this massive breach of etiquette, Chairman David was reportedly very unhappy about the exposure of his trusts. The matter has been assigned for some sleuthing to the bank's Protection Division, so far without results. "We are not," says an investigating officer, "really staffed for this sort of thing."

Still, there is no shortage of theories about the source of the leak. Since information on trusts and checking accounts are kept in two different buildings, says a member of the Chase public relations department, it would appear that there are two leakers. At the same time, the

aide continues, it is considered highly unlikely that Dorfman could have cultivated two willing sources at Chase. (As is common in banking, Chase employees sign an agreement in which they promise not to reveal customer information.) But while it is possible that the Mitchell checking data did not even come from inside the bank, the trust holdings almost certainly did. So security procedures have been tightened and the search goes on. When, and if, the culprits are found, says a Chase spokesman, they will be fired.

—DAVID M. RUBIN

Let 'em Eat Soybeans

Trying to make those food dollars stretch? Why not whip up some quenelles de crevettes, curried crabmeat soup for six, or frozen lemon soufflé (made with one dozen egg yolks and heavy sweet cream)? If you don't know how, check *The New York Times*, which printed the recipes this fall. But if you'd rather find out about "Tasty fish recipes that save time (and) money," you might turn to the *Daily News*. For

what to do with leftovers, try the *New York Post*.

Inflation has separated the true gourmets from the mere gourmands—in the kitchens and in the recipe columns. In the *Post* and *News*, sensibility frequently prevails in the form of budget-oriented, no-nonsense recipes. For those who still require cuisine with a certain élan, the editors of WNET's *Image* magazine have been selecting from among Julia Child's recipes those entailing only modest costs—within the gourmet spectrum, of course. The *Image* column, which has

How To Publish Your Own Bestseller

As publisher of the biographical hatchet job on Arthur J. Goldberg, Neil MacCaffery is hardly in a position to do much name-calling, but he does make a point about the book business. "I don't understand why I'm being singled out by the press for taking a subsidy when this is a common practice in publishing," the president of Arlington House said, after the story broke early in October that his company had accepted \$60,000 from a Laurance S. Rockefeller intermediary to publish a derogatory book on Goldberg, brother Nelson's rival in the 1970 New York gubernatorial race.

Book subsidization is widespread. Many leading publishers handle books for trade associations, politicians, unions, foundations, major corporations and even aspiring novelists in exchange for a subsidy, usually in the form of a prearranged guarantee that the book's sponsor or author will buy enough copies to ensure the house makes a profit. Some examples:

- Harper's Magazine Press agreed to publish the novel *You and Me, Babe* only after the author, wealthy West Coast television producer Chuck Barris, agreed to buy the book's reprint rights for \$35,000. "Frankly I hoped it would just go away and be forgotten after we did it," admits editor-in-chief Lawrence S. Freundlich. But Barris decided to pay for some heavy promotion, and the book went on to become a best-seller.

- In his autobiography *Up and Down and Around*, Harper & Row's senior editor Cass Canfield tells of taking a subsidy in 1940 from Dr. Arnold Gesell who had written a book he wanted published called *The First Five Years of Life*. The Gesell book took off. Canfield was delighted. Gesell got his money back.

- In 1969, representatives of Ford

Motor Co. approached Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. about publishing three of Henry Ford's commencement speeches under the title *The Human Environment and Business*. Holt agreed, with the understanding that publication was contingent upon Ford Motor buying 1,500 copies, recalls editor-in-chief Thomas C. Wallace. Also, Ford himself was not to receive any royalties; they all went to Holt.

- Willy Brandt's *A Peace Policy for Europe* was put out in 1969 by Weybright and Talley, Inc., a subsidiary of David McKay Co. The sponsor was the German Information Center which agreed to buy between 500 and 1,000 copies, according to Truman M. Talley, W.&T.'s president.

- Connecticut Mutual Life Insurance Company had to sign up for 10,000 copies before Random House agreed in 1971 to publish *A Matter of Life and Death*, a book about Connecticut Mutual. John Lobingier, a vice president of public relations for the firm, recalls that the book was a useful tool in sales and recruiting. "Buying the Random House imprint gives you real status," he explains.

- McGraw-Hill turns out corporate-sponsored books every year. They've done *A Foot in the Door* for Fuller Brush, *A Whale of a Territory* for General Tire & Rubber Co. and currently are working on the story of AMFAC Corp., *Dynasty in the Pacific*. The criterion for publication is that the corporation buy 10,000 copies. Any promotion costs extra.

- To offset Robert Sherrill's *The Saturday Night Special*, The National Rifle Association sponsored its own look at gun laws, *Gun Controls*, published by Stackpole Books and written by Robert Kukla.

- Former Teamster boss James R. Hoffa intends to use a book authored by him and entitled *Hoffa: The*

Real Story as part of a political and public relations drive to regain control of the Teamsters Union, a source close to Hoffa indicates. The book will be published by Nash in January and distributed and promoted by teamsters loyal to Hoffa. In addition, the Hoffa-supported National Association of Justice has contracted to purchase 2,000 copies of a special edition.

- Sen. Barry Goldwater's *The Conscience of a Conservative* was a 1960 campaign entry put out by a Shepherdsville, Ky., printing house, Publishers Printing Co. Publication occurred only after Clarence E. Manion, a lawyer and ardent Goldwater backer, promised company president Frank Simon that he would pick up a major share of the production costs if the book bombed. It has since sold 120,000 hardcover and over 1,000,000 paperback copies.

Publishers Weekly, the bible of the book industry, is quick to come down on the vanity houses like Exposition Press or Vantage which openly take money for doing a book. "We won't publish their ads and we refuse to write anything about them," says *PW* editor-in-chief Arnold W. Ehrlich. But the magazine has yet to examine any of the so-called "legitimate" trade houses that indulge in essentially the same practice. Given the economics of the publishing industry, the practice is likely to continue. The implications are significant. "If something is in book form, the public thinks it has to be true, especially if the publisher is reputable," says a McGraw-Hill editor. "That's what bothers me about subsidies. Publishing is really the only form of media which puts out what amounts to paid advertising without having to acknowledge it as such."

—LATON MCCARTNEY

THE BIG APPLE

DAILY NEWS

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NEW YORKER

7



"Do you accept food stamps?"

Bettmann Archive

featured pain, français and lentilles en cassoulet, is called "The Frugal Gourmet."

Frugality is not Craig Claiborne's favorite dish. When the *Times*'s longtime food editor returned to the paper this year, Jean Hewitt, the *Times*'s home economist who was handling recipes, says she was told that henceforth "Craig would take care of that." He did. Beside the quenelles and soufflés, recent Claiborne recipes have included shrimp tempura (with Claiborne filling the story from Osaka, Japan), boulettes of beef Stroganoff and tropical flan. Family/style editor Joan Whitman notes correctly that her department has been covering the inflation story in its consumer articles. No specific thought had been given to budget recipes. Claiborne (travelling in Europe at this writing) writes for those to whom cooking is a hobby, says Whitman.

Hewitt has found the *Times*'s recent recipes an inadequate response to readers' tighter belts. It appears that someone finally agrees. In early November, Hewitt got the go-ahead for pieces on what to do with Thanksgiving leftovers and how to make Christmas goodies with sugar substitutes. An article on corn syrup ran on Nov. 18.

Claiborne will also continue to do recipes, including those appearing in the *Times Sunday Magazine*. For that special someone, [MORE] suggests his Nov. 6 menu: Champagne Supper with turtle soup, braised quail or squab, and Scotch salmon. Whitman is right: he's just not the kind of guy who'd use saccharin in a bavarois au fraises.

—C.C.

Going To Court

The first suit charging a major U.S. newspaper with practicing sexual

discrimination in hiring, promotion and wages has been filed against *The New York Times* by six of its female employees. A second newspaper, *Newsday*, will face a similar court battle when the *Newsday* women's caucus files suit in December.

The *Times* suit charges the newspaper with placing qualified women in jobs inferior to those held by men; with favoring men for jobs with greater salary potential, and with maintaining departments that are segregated by sex (i.e., sports, photography, classified advertising). The plaintiffs also claim there is

salary discrimination and provide actuarial figures that show an average annual salary discrepancy of \$4,800 between equally qualified men and women.

The official *Times* position, according to its lawyer, John Stanton, is that since the initiation of an affirmative action program several years ago, no discriminatory practices exist at the paper.

The six plaintiffs are: Andrea Skinner, Sunday *Times* news clerk; Elizabeth W. Boylan, head of the foreign copy desk; Joan Cook and Grace Glueck, reporters; Nancy Davis, telephone solicitor, and Louise Carini, clerk in the general accounting office.

Their suit is a class action initiated by the *Times* women's caucus, which over the last two years tried unsuccessfully to reach an out-of-court settlement with management. Negotiations broke down several months ago, and the decision to sue was reached at a Sept. 11 caucus meeting. Papers were filed Nov. 7 in Manhattan Federal court. Influencing the decision was delayed action on complaints the caucus filed last year with the city's Human Rights Commission and the Federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The EEOC has nearly a two-year backlog of sex discrimination cases filed under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

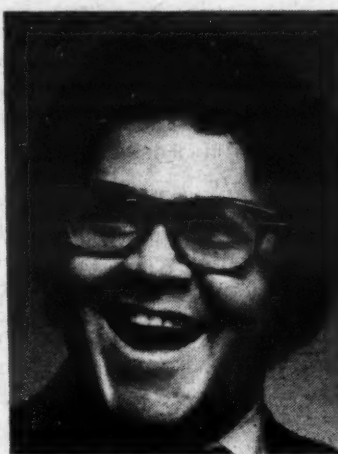
J. J. Returns

After a six-week absence from the homescreen, reporter J.J. Gonzalez returned to the WCBS-TV evening newscast on Nov. 11. Viewers might have thought Gonzalez was on vacation. He wasn't.

On Oct. 2, Gonzalez had received, and been uninspired by, his assignment for the day—something about interviewing the couple of the year from South America. Assignment editor Marvin Friedman told Gonzalez he would have to make do with such fare until he came up with better ideas of his own. Gonzalez reminded Friedman that he had been trying for a month to film a story about illegal aliens, but that Friedman pulled the camera crew every time he set up an interview. You're a liar, said Friedman. I'm not a liar, said Gonzalez. The decibel level rapidly increased, and Gonzalez grabbed Friedman by the collar and pushed him back. In rushed reporter Arnold Diaz and assignment editor Dennis Sheehan, who pulled the two apart. Friedman was heard daring Gonzalez to hit him.

CBS suspended Gonzalez indefinitely and without pay for laying hands on a superior, an offense punishable by firing. The suspension lasted six weeks. Says Gonzalez, back on the job, "I have no comment to make." Says Friedman, "I don't think you should be writing a story about this."

—C.C.



Gonzalez: Unexpected holiday CBS

At *Newsday*, attorneys for the women's caucus are presently drafting a complaint focusing on promotion, job assignments, salaries and nonhiring of women for managerial positions. The *Newsday* women's decision to sue also follows an unsuccessful two-year negotiating period with management as well as the filing of a complaint, still pending, with the EEOC in December 1973. *Newsday* management proposed its own affirmative action program in March 1974, but the women found its provisions unacceptable. "It's a farce," says caucus attorney Diane Serafin Blank of the feminist law firm Bellamy, Blank, Goodman, Kelly, Ross and Stanley. Blank says, however, that the existence of the plan may have strategic value for the defendants in court.

In the meantime, the caucus is actively fund raising to support the cost of the suit. A brunch was held Nov. 3 with admission at \$10 a head. The caucus already has more than \$2,000 in the bank.

—C.C.

Group Therapy

While the legal merits of the *Newsday* women's claims remain to be determined, the newspaper's mostly male management is undergoing "sensitivity training" to help them deal with this brave new world. Profs. James Cribbin and Ray Magowan—a professional management team from St. John's University—take groups of 20 to 22 executives through supervisory situations that have actually occurred, then throw their experiences open for group discussion and analysis.

The series of five two-hour sessions is "not a response to the women's suit, although some women may take it to be," according to assistant publisher Stan Asimov. Actually, he says, it is a long-planned part of management's "affirmative-action" program to provide equal opportunities for all employees, regardless of sex, age, color or creed.

One female staffer who asked to attend a meeting said the session seemed to be a debate between bosses and employees. She found the meeting "a joke." "Feminism," she contends, "is not a debatable issue." But another woman came away feeling the program was "well-motivated and sincere" and "like a family trying to solve its own problems." However, supervisors who participated in the first rounds are reluctant to discuss the extent to which their attitudes may be changing. As one editor put it, "It's not over yet."

—CAROL ASHKINAZE

NEW YORK

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(continued from back page)

where you're going but where you've been.

Just as one can often get a better perspective on national affairs away from Washington, so one can often get a better feel for the stock market away from the green heat of Wall Street. In May 1970, the last previous occasion on which the market seemed to be discounting the end of the world, doomsday predictions rattled through the coverage from New York. Interestingly, Merrill Lynch later discovered that the greatest per capita net buying at the bottom occurred in the state of Iowa, or about as far from the coastal hysterics as you can get.

Part of the problem the financial reporters face is that they are dealing with a world that is not nearly so scientific as it pretends. "Technical analysis," for example, combines a language as arcane as that of nuclear physics with a hefty dose

of P.T. Barnum. Yet an experienced financial reporter like Dan Dorfman devoted an entire *New York* magazine column this fall to letting us know that "all bear market bottoms" are "shaped like the letter 'W'." Well, maybe. But even if you could get two technical analysts to agree on precisely when the operative W had occurred, which is doubtful, you might want to recall the view of Princeton's Prof. Richard E. Quandt, who decided after exhaustive study that stock-market charting was "akin to astrology and every bit as scientific."

Moreover, and despite the impression you might get from the financial pages, the stock market's value as an economic predictor lies somewhere south of tarot cards. It characteristically overreacts in both directions, with a jitteriness more suitable to your old Aunt Nellie than to Daddy Warbucks. (It was calculated once that the stock market had predicted eleven of the last four recessions.) Only recently has the typical financial reporter seemed to sense that, in the short run at least, what the stock market is trying to tell us may well be a tale told by an idiot.

Consider, in this respect, the page-one column in *The Wall Street Journal* called "The Outlook." In May 1970, when the market appeared to be forecasting the separation from the North American mainland of the continental United States and its descent into the sea like Atlantis, Alfred L. Malabre Jr. wrote forebodingly in "The Outlook": "Over the years, stock prices have provided an extraordinarily accurate early glimpse of future developments in the general economy."

But by October 1974, "The Outlook,"

chastened by dizzying experience, was not so sure. Now written by John O'Riley, it declared: "The stock market is not the total economy. And taken as an indicator of such it can be vastly misleading. Let's keep it in perspective. . . . Don't expect disaster every time the stock market seems to predict it."

If Wall Street is sometimes short on wisdom, however, it is never short on arrogance—and for this reason, those reporters who make it their beat are due a certain amount of sympathy. Unlike Washington, where the typical politician may look on the typical reporter with hostile respect, Wall Street is likely to mingle the hostility with unmitigated contempt. Mirroring this attitude, "Adam Smith" wrote in his book, *The Money Game*:

There is not very much written about Wall Street that Wall Streeters themselves believe. . . . The reason for this is that the writers about the Street are Outside, and Wall Street tells them more or less what it wants. Wall Street is well paid, and the writers aren't, and when the writers learn enough they get offered jobs in Wall Street and off they go. . . . Wall Street writers are never heroes at dinner parties because any broker or fund manager knows as much Street gossip as they do.

Faced with such haughtiness, is it any wonder that the aspiring financial writer frequently tries to beat the phony forecasters at their own game?

While such possible emotional problems undoubtedly stir deep compassion among the subscribers, the wise reader will resolve to be a skeptical consumer of the daily stock-market reports. Even when not trying to divine the future, those who prepare these reports are under pressure to account daily for something that may, on a daily basis, be unaccountable—the movement of more than 1,500 common stocks on the New York Stock Exchange alone. Thus, they will tell you that "renewed fears of inflationary pressure" sent the Dow Jones Industrial Average down 2½ points yesterday, or "expectations of improved second-quarter earnings statements" moved it up 3.

The trouble is that there is almost never one single reason for the stock market's total behavior on any given day. It can consequently be bewildering for the neophyte to try to figure out why yesterday's "renewed fears" apparently have evaporated today, or why yesterday's fully justified optimism has been replaced by today's equally rationalized pessimism. The truth is that, while spot news can affect some or all of the market on a day-to-day basis, the underlying trend is what matters—and that takes a little more perspective than daily deadline pressures can permit.

The market never goes straight up or straight down for long, and the day it chooses for a short-term reversal may have scant connection with any hard news that appears on that day. But tradition requires a confident daily explanation for what has happened. (Market analysts are always brilliant in explaining exactly why today's market did what it did; it's only the explanation for what the market is going to do tomorrow that requires any hedging.) The jargon is such that if, say, the market goes up a bit on Dec. 1, you can generally count on reading that stocks are having their "traditional year-end rally." If, however, the market should happen to dip on that day, it is equally probable that you will read that the reason was "traditional year-end tax selling." If the market were as simple as most daily stock reports suggest, all financial journalists would be rich.

Short of that pleasant prospect, perhaps the profession should take a tip not from a stockbroker but from a publicist, Harry Reichenbach. "The country," he observed four decades ago, "is suffering from overprediction."

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Bears and Bull On Wall Street

BY LOUIS RUKEYSER

The trouble with most people who are perplexed by modern society is that they simply have not been reading the right part of the newspaper. For there is one column, albeit hidden deep within the second section, that in an age of uncertainty and despair manages to convey absolute assurance about both yesterday and tomorrow. It is an island of certitude in a sea of confusion: the stock-market report on the financial page. It should be a comfort to us all.

Unless, of course, we happen to be investors in the stock market—in which case, we might be tempted to take the column seriously. And then we might have come to believe, for example, that the averages were about to leap to lunar heights when the Vietnam war ended or when President Nixon resigned, which they did not, or that the economy was about to vanish entirely each time the averages fell, which as of this writing it has not.

If the reality for all humans is that we are what we eat, the specific danger for journalists lies in believing that we are what we write. Thus the unwary Washington reporter finds himself proudly thinking like a politician, the foreign correspondent confuses his role with that of Henry Kissinger, the sportswriter becomes convinced he is the finest strategist since John J. McGraw—and the financial reporter figures his job is to tell people where the market is going. He catches the fever of the animals he is covering and succumbs to the delusion, more suitable to salesmen than to scribes, that prognostication is the name of the game.

Consider, for starters, the month of January 1973, which in its first half saw the stock market rising to levels unreached before or since and in its second half saw the announcement of a cease-fire agreement in Vietnam. Hindsight has diminished both achievements. In the euphoria of the moment, though, the second event was interpreted widely and confidently as one that would send stocks marching upward while Johnny came marching home.

Even when stocks perversely began to fall, the predictors were undismayed. After all, they had the support of most of their colleagues. (Research discloses that most stock-market predictions in various publications are strikingly similar, even when they are wrong, which is usually.) And as the Associated Press gamely insisted at the time, "Historically, the market has retreated for about a month after the end of every war from the Spanish-American to the Korean, then recovered to advance as much as 25 to 35 per cent."

The AP was in good company. In a page-one article the morning after President Nixon announced the cease-fire, *The Wall Street Journal* spoke authoritatively: "There will be a continued and controlled strengthening of the economy. The

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stock market is likely to shoot up, but not necessarily right away." (The last phrase, of course, might be taken as an escape clause, but since the Dow Jones Industrial Average was then over 1,000 and has recently gone below 600, one wonders whether "not necessarily right away" sweeps wide enough to include, say, "sometime in the next decade.")

By later in the same week, the *Journal*, without skipping a beat, was informing us that in the framework of confusion over the Phase Three controls program and concern about tight credit, the peace issue had lost its bounce. Others in the financial press let it be known that, come to think of it, the market had surged so often in anticipation of the cease-fire news that the capacity for still further rallies might be limited among the peacemongers of Wall Street.

Could it really have been less than a week since the financial pundits were taking their cues from such approvingly quoted observers as Charles Lewis, of Canton, Ponboy & Co., whom the AP



Paul Richer

reported as saying k... 'geably, "I imagine once it's official we'll see something quite favorable?"

Did the market reporters learn their lesson? Do goldfish fly?

Turn now to the political events of this past summer. When President Nixon's resignation was still, to most of the media, a consummation devoutly to be wished rather than a foregone conclusion, every available weapon to speed his departure was summoned eagerly. Since he was scarcely a hero on Wall Street (no other President since Hoover has failed to leave with the market higher than where he found it), the assumed reaction to a Nixon resignation was cited frequently and enthusiastically by many who had never previously sullied their lips with kindness toward stockholders. Such improbable types as television network news anchormen became instant economic experts, informing us precisely how many hundred

If the market were as simple as most daily reports suggest, all financial writers would be rich, says the author, who finds that the market's value as an economic indicator 'lies somewhere south of tarot cards.'

points the market would rise when Nixon resigned. With so many amateurs invading their turf, who can blame the stock-market reporters for dusting off their crystal balls and racing into the fray?

The Washington Post, in an article Aug. 7, just before Nixon quit, walked past the lesson reemphasized by the Vietnam experience: that the stock market historically tends to move up or down before some expected news occurs, and then to react the other way when the anticipated event actually happens. This "sell-on-the-news" pattern is based on the wise-guy theory that what everybody knows is no longer worth knowing.

The *Post*, on the other hand, in its report headlined STOCKS GAIN AS NIXON FUTURE DIMS, brought in the expert testimony of Lee Pollack, a senior vice president of Hayden Stone, to the effect that investors could expect a further rally of "50 to 100 points upon resignation." Getting rid of Nixon, the *Post* explained, would mean getting rid of one unknown; the new Government could put Watergate behind us and get on with salvaging the economy. Nixon's resignation would improve people's outlook and build confidence.

How could this forecast be wrong, when "everyone" agreed? Hadn't *The New York Times's* veteran financial reporter, Vartanig Vartan, written the day before that the market had moved higher "propelled by rumors that some announcement about the impeachment situation would come from the White House after the closing bell"? Hadn't David Jackson, former chairman of the American Stock Exchange, been quoted as saying, "If Nixon resigns or is convicted by the Senate, it will be a huge market and an up market; there may be difficulty in opening the exchanges immediately"? So what if wholesale prices were increasing at an annual rate of more than 44 per cent! Didn't we have it on the authority of *The Wall Street Journal*, in a news story Aug. 9 right after Nixon called it quits, that "the resignation is expected to bring an immediate boost to the national business climate"? Plainly, the stock market then was the safest bet since Thomas E. Dewey.

Who but a fool, in the face of this orgy of optimistic prediction in the financial pages, would have guessed that the market would promptly head down, not up, and that two months later it would be 200 points below where it was when the Source of All Evil departed?

One should not assume from this that the market reporters are perennially bullish. They can be just as foolish in the other direction. The gossip of Wall Street is always in precise balance with stock prices, and this is what they hear. Entranced by the facile predictions of others, and seduced into trying their hands themselves, they tend to be to the market a sort of trailing indicator, telling you not

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